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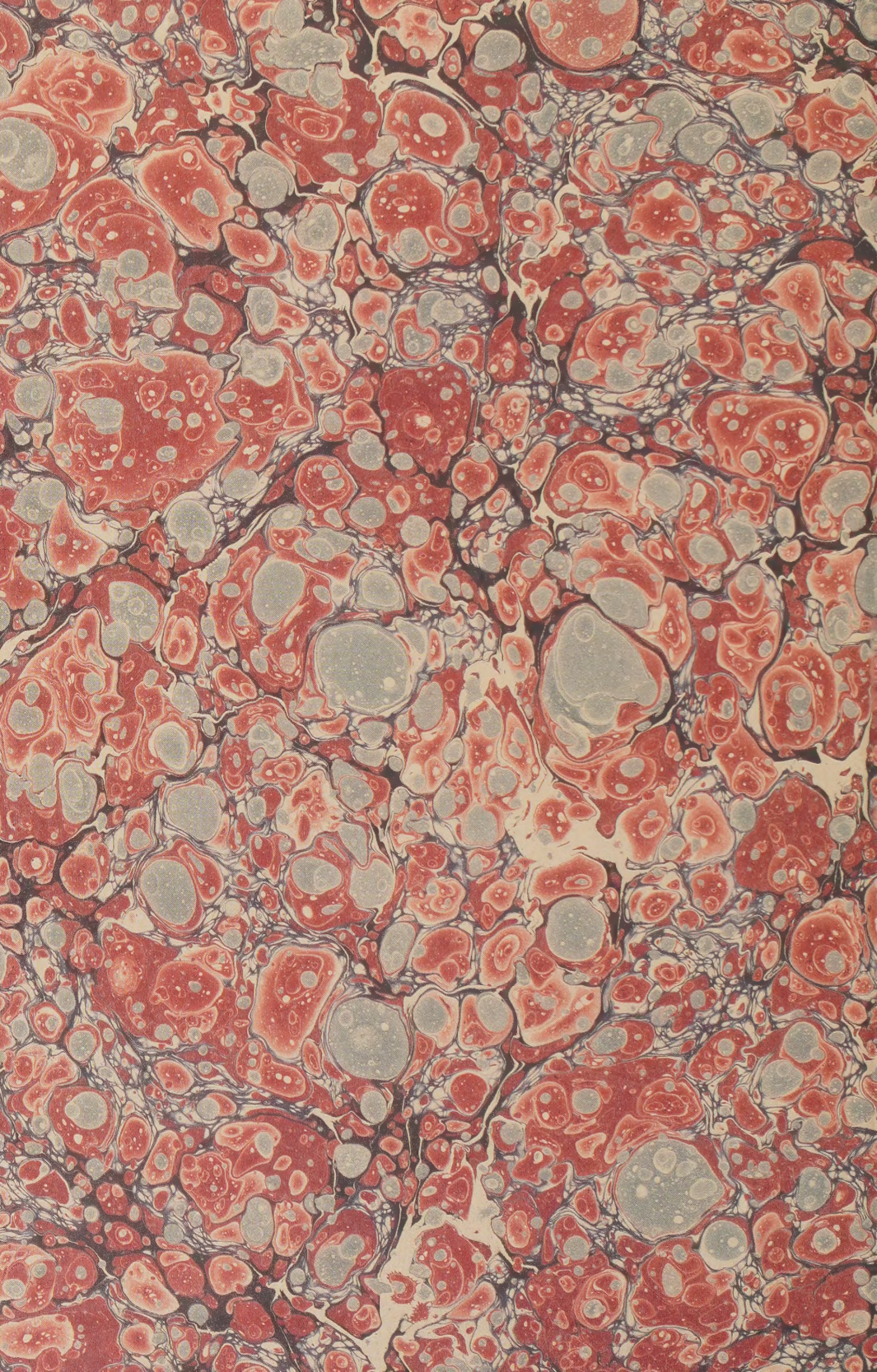

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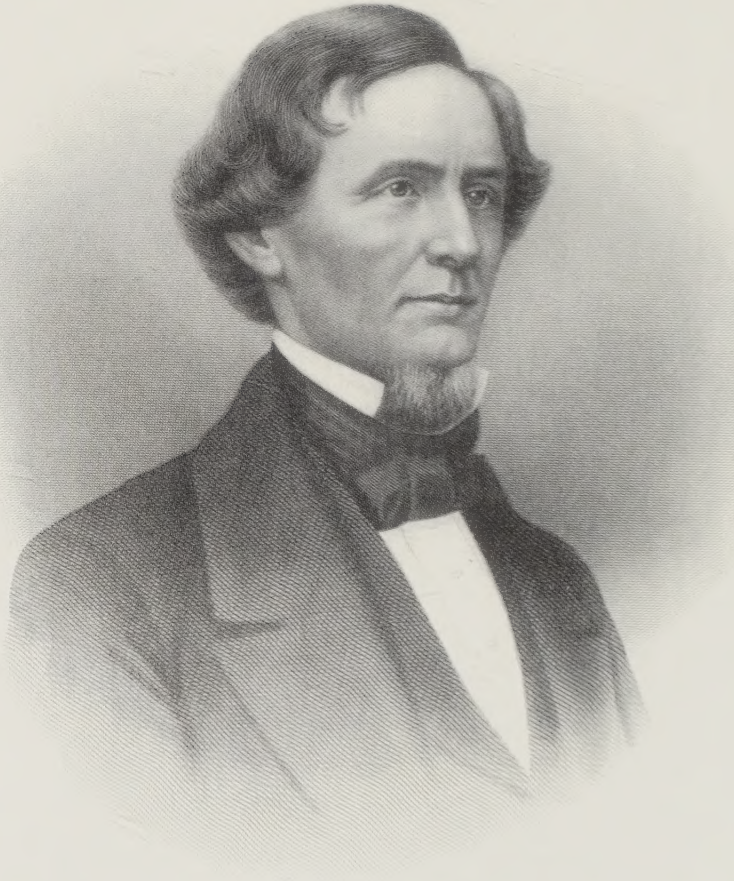

Jefferson Davis

CONFEDERATE MILITARY HISTORY

A LIBRARY OF CONFEDERATE STATES HISTORY, IN TWELVE VOLUMES, WRITTEN BY DISTINGUISHED MEN OF THE SOUTH, AND EDITED BY GEN. CLEMENT A. EVANS OF GEORGIA. . . . .

VOL. I.

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CHAPTER XII.

ACTUAL WAR INAUGURATED.

THE FIGHT FOR FORTS — PROCEEDINGS AGAINST FORT SUMTER — THE SOUTH DELUDED — THE ASTUTE SCHEME TO REINFORCE—THE FLEET, THE DEMONSTRATION, THE SURRENDER—PURPOSE TO PUT THE SOUTH IN A FALSE POSITION.

THE "state of war" which had practically existed at least from the date of the approval by the United States of Anderson's destruction of property in Fort Moultrie and his tragic concentration in Fort Sumter, was now advanced to, and assumed the condition of, actual hostilities. The quasi truce suggested through the mediation of Justices Campbell and Nelson which had been faithfully kept by South Carolina and the Confederate government, was broken by the Federal administration, through preparations continuously made to invade the harbor of Charleston. Precisely when active hostilities between the States began has not been clearly determined, but war was flagrant even before the arrival of the Federal ships to reinforce Fort Sumter, and was especially manifested by the venture of the Star of the West to land troops with arms and ammunition. The old custom of nations to issue formal "declarations of war" had gone into disuse. (Scott's Mil. Dict., 1861, title "War.") Public war is now manifested by the hostile acts and declarations of one Government against another. South Carolina was a government de facto if not de jure on the 20th of December, 1860. The act of Maj. Anderson in destroying the armament of Moultrie and concentrating at Sumter was avowedly a

military movement of a hostile intent, so construed by South Carolina, and in that light was consented to by the United States. The secret proposition of the commanding general of the United States armies, General Scott, made in December after South Carolina became a government de facto, and which was acted upon by President Buchanan with the intention to throw troops, arms, ammunition and supplies into Fort Sumter, was itself an official institution of belligerency; and the passing of the "Star of the West" from the high seas into the bay of Charleston with these troops and war stores aboard, and within range of the batteries of South Carolina, with actual professed intention to effect a landing at the fort, was open war made manifest by the act.

It will be observed that no forts or other property formerly belonging to the United States were taken in the possession of the seceding States until after the concentration of Maj. Anderson's command at Fort Sumter, and after the information of the preparations made by General Scott for coercion by way of the sea had reached the authorities of these Southern States. The ordinance of secession being wholly civil was in no sense a manifesto of war, whether it was legal or illegal. If illegal, it was void, without force and irrecognizable by any court or nation until some act of war was committed. If legal, then any armed resistance to its proper operation conditioned hostilities. South Carolina did not interfere in any respect with the exercise by the Federal government of any of its functions until after the people of the State had by the formal act of their convention withdrawn from the Union and declared to the world the independent nationality of their State. Nor did the State take possession of the forts in its harbor until they were abandoned in a hostile manner, and even then a commission was sent to Washington by South Carolina prepared to negotiate all questions between the two Governments. No blood was shed, no violence done, no force

used, no movement made beyond what was necessary to gain the occupancy of its undefended property. It is certainly well understood that peace and not war would contribute to the interests and gratify the desire of the State. Its military measures, such as the organizing and drilling of troops, the repairing and construction of its harbor defenses and the manufacture of munitions, indicated apprehensions that the war begun by the events of the Fort Moultrie affair might be continued, but they were the ordinary and reasonable measures adopted by every nation for defensive purposes; and in addition its agreement faithfully observed, to make no attack on Fort Sumter on account of promises made to evacuate the premises, as well as its permission, continued into April, 1861, for Maj. Anderson to purchase fresh provisions in the markets of Charleston, point out a peaceable disposition which cannot be misunderstood.

After the Confederate States assumed control of the harbor defenses of Charleston, General Beauregard was assigned March 1st, 1861, to command of the troops, and all questions were now properly transferred from the State of South Carolina so that they should lie between the Federal and Confederate Governments, but the peace status remained unchanged by any act of the latter nation. The opinion extensively prevailed that Major Anderson's command would be withdrawn. Mr. Forsyth telegraphed March 14th to Governor Pickens, "I confidentially believe Sumter will be evacuated and think a government messenger left here yesterday with orders to that effect for Anderson." On the same day Captain Foster, U. S. Engineer, who was in charge of the works at Fort Sumter, writes to the chief engineer of the U. S. army at Washington, "The news received here yesterday by telegraph to the effect that orders were issued to evacuate this fort seems to have caused an almost entire cessation of work on the (Confederate) batteries around us." On March 12th, President Lincoln addressed to

General Scott a communication asking for information as to the means it would require to reinforce Fort Sumter, and on the 15th asked the secretary of war, Mr. Cameron, to give his opinion in writing on the question, "Assuming it to be possible to now provision Fort Sumter, under all the circumstances is it wise to attempt it?" In his answer, delivered March 17th, the secretary of war says: "My mind has been most reluctantly forced to the conclusion that it would be unwise now to make such an attempt. All the officers within Fort Sumter, together with Generals Scott and Totten, express this same opinion. I am therefore of the opinion that the cause of humanity and the highest obligation to the public interest would be best promoted by adopting the counsels of those brave and experienced men whose suggestions I have laid before you." Two days later, March 19th, President Lincoln directed General Scott to send to Fort Sumter some suitable person who would get accurate information in regard to the command of Maj. Anderson and report the result, upon which General Scott selected Captain G. V. Fox, formerly of the navy, indorsing the order with the note: "The within may do good and can do no harm. It commits no one." On the 20th a telegram sent to Mr. Toombs, the Confederate secretary of state at Montgomery, from the Confederate commissioners, Roman, Crawford and Forsyth, contained the following cheering intelligence: "If there is faith in man we may rely on the assurances we have as to the status. Time is essential to a peaceful issue of this mission. In the present posture of affairs precipitation is war. We are all agreed." The next day General Beauregard was informed by telegram from Mr. L. P. Walker, the Confederate secretary of war, that "the probability is if there be any reliance on rumors, semi-official in their character, that Fort Sumter will be shortly abandoned." It was at this date, March 21st, that Mr. Seward repeated to the Confederate commissioners through Judge Campbell

"that the failure to evacuate Fort Sumter was not the result of bad faith, but was attributable to causes consistent with the intention to fulfill the engagement." On the same day, Captain Fox arrived at Charleston, and calling on Governor Pickens obtained from him a passport to Sumter, expressly upon the pledge of "pacific purposes," and going at once, arrived at the fort late at night. Here he held a confidential interview with Maj. Anderson, and on the 22d left for Washington. Mr. Ward H. Lamon came two days afterward and by the same courtesy and confidence which had been extended to Captain Fox was escorted to Fort Sumter by Colonel Duryea, a member of the staff of Governor Pickens, and after delivering special dispatches from President Lincoln, and having an interview with Anderson, returned to Charleston. General Beauregard having heard a rumor that he would require of Maj. Anderson a formal surrender, hastened on the 26th, as he states in a communication to him, to say that "having been informed that Mr. Lamon, the authorized agent of the President of the United States, advised Governor Pickens, after his interview with you at Fort Sumter that your command would be transferred to another post in a few days, and understanding that you are under the impression I intended under all circumstances to require of you a formal surrender or capitulation, I hasten to disabuse you, and to inform you that our countries not being at war and wishing so far as lies in my power to avoid the latter calamity, no such condition will be exacted of you, unless brought about as the natural result of hostilities." During this chronological tracing of events that concerned the peaceful evacuation of Fort Sumter, the reports of Maj. Anderson and Captain Foster show a state of inactivity on the part of the Confederates. Such expressions as, "Their works seem to be at a standstill," and "All operations looking to an attack on this fort have ceased," "There seems to be a general lack of

activity," and even to the 6th of April the same reports of Confederate quietness and inactivity were transmitted regularly from Fort Sumter to Washington.

But in the meantime Captain Fox had returned with whatever information he had gained by his special visit to Maj. Anderson, who had been kept in ignorance of the purposes of the administration, but was "in daily expectation since the return of Colonel Lamon to Washington, of receiving orders to vacate this post." Political ferment was occurring which threatened the repose of the President. General Totten, chief engineer, U. S. A., quartered at Washington, seemed to understand the situation, as it may be inferred from a sentence in his communication to the secretary of war, Mr. Cameron, "under the strongest convictions on some military questions upon which great political events seem about to turn, I feel impelled to state them," and proceeds to advise against an attempt to reinforce by exposing vessels to the fire of Charleston batteries. But, he says, "should the above reasoning not meet acceptance, or for political reasons should it be decided to hold and defend this fort (Sumter) to the last, then I have to say that every soldier that can be spared should be sent to its relief with the utmost dispatch, accompanied by military supplies of every kind and in the greatest abundance. Having no personal ambition or party feeling to lead or mislead me to conclusions, I have maturely studied the subject as a soldier bound to give all his faculties to his country, which may God preserve in peace."

The Fort Sumter reinforcement question was determined finally on partisan political considerations. Party pressure overcame the "faith as to Sumter" as "military necessity" subsequently recognized no constitutional restraint. The advice of experienced and able military officers as to the futility of the attempt to reinforce Sumter by the employment of a few vessels went for nothing with the politicians, and since the attempt itself would

satisfy party clamor and strengthen the administration they were determined to make it. The South could at least be forced to fire the first gun, and that would be worth the cost of the expedition and the destruction of a fleet. The border States were also insecure and must be conciliated. Kentucky, which President Lincoln declared was "the key of the situation," had asked for a convention of all States to agree on the Crittenden Compromise, and resolved to remain in the Union only on the condition that Mr. Lincoln would not make war on the seceded States. Virginia was still interceding for peace through her committee which was in Washington, and to this committee Mr. Lincoln proposed that if the State convention then in session would bind the State not to secede under any circumstances and adjourn sine die he would order the evacuation of Fort Sumter; a condition that no free people would accept, and which the commissioners had no authority to consider. (Reminiscences of Lincoln, p. 87.)

President Lincoln entered into the views of Captain Fox notwithstanding the opposition of General Scott, and as valuable time was being lost in the discussion, he directed Captain Fox to prepare for the voyage, but to make no binding engagements. In his first efforts he met with the opposition of Mr. Marshall, on whom he had relied. Mr. Marshall declined to aid him because the attempt to reinforce Sumter would not only thwart the proposed loan, but "would bring on civil war." Delays which Captain Fox says "belong to the secret history of this period, prevented a decision until on the afternoon of the 4th of April, when the President sent for me and said that he had decided to let the expedition go, and that a messenger from himself would be sent to the authorities of Charleston before I could possibly get there to notify them that no troops would be thrown into Sumter, if provisions were allowed peacefully to be sent to the garrison."

The "Powhatan," the "Pocahontas," the "Pawnee," and the "Harriet Lane" were placed at the disposal of Captain Fox by the secretary of the navy. On the 5th of April he engaged the "Baltic" to carry supplies and recruits, hired three steam tugs, and rapidly fitted out an expedition. The command of the naval force was tendered to Commodore Stringham, a naval officer of high authority, but he declined because he considered the expedition to be too late to be successful. Colonel H. L. Scott, aide to General Scott, was directed by confidential orders to supply recruits, but he ridiculed the idea of the government relieving Sumter and the owners of tugs so generally refused to risk their vessels that only three could be hired at exorbitant rates. Supplies, however, were easily purchased, and the expedition was thoroughly provisioned. All being made ready, the "Powhatan" sailed on the 6th. The messenger from Washington was started the same day to Governor Pickens to notify him that "faith as to Sumter fully kept" meant that the fort would be provisioned as soon as he would consent for it to be done; otherwise the fleet and Maj. Anderson were prepared to see that the fort was held and reinforced. The tug "Uncle Ben" steamed out on the 7th, the "Harriet Lane" and the tug "Yankee" on the 8th, the "Pawnee" and the "Baltic" on the 9th, the "Pocahontas" on the 10th. This considerable fleet, commissioned to execute the plan of Captain Fox, encountered a heavy gale, which continued during the whole passage, delaying the voyage so much that the rendezvous at Charleston did not begin until the 11th or 12th, the "Harriet Lane" being the first vessel to arrive. All finally arrived, and in addition to the fleet, the steamer "Nashville" and a number of merchant vessels anchoring near the bar increased the imposing naval demonstration. A portion of the war ships stood in towards the bar at sunrise of the 12th but the captain of the "Pawnee" refused the request of Captain Fox to

stand in to the bar with him because his orders required him to remain and await the "Powhatan;" and besides he "was not going in there to inaugurate civil war." Other vessels steamed in and as they neared the land the smoke and shells from the Confederate batteries, which had just opened, became visible. The sound of war at once drew the remark from the gallant commander of the "Pawnee," Captain Rowan, that he would "stand in with his ship and share the fate of the army." The weather was bad and the sea was heavy, the warships inside the bar had no boats nor men to carry in supplies, the "Powhatan" had not arrived, the "Baltic" could not withstand the very heavy swell, first running ashore on a shoal and then anchoring far out in deep water. One of the tug boats had been driven by the gale into the hands of the "rebels" at Wilmington, and the others, had not arrived. But the indomitable Fox persisted in hoping that all the elements of his carefully planned attack on Sumter would yet get together. Pursuing this hope he organized a boat's crew, pulled in to the "Pawnee" from the "Harriet Lane," purposing to make an effort to reach Sumter with provisions even in the absence of the tug boats, but the heavy sea forbade the venture. An ice schooner was then captured and loaded for entering the harbor at night.

But in the afternoon the fort was surrendered. On the 14th it was evacuated, on the 15th the garrison was taken to the "Baltic," and Fort Sumter went into the peaceable possession of the Confederacy. Captain Fox's plan was designed to secure the reinforcement of Fort Sumter peaceably if the Confederates consented, but forcibly if they objected. The objections of South Carolina at first and the subsequent declarations of the Confederate States had been very plainly made. It was understood on both sides that the attempt to reinforce by provisions and troops, or by either, would provoke war. The steaming into the harbor of Charleston was under-

stood by the well-informed captain of the "Pawnee" as "the inauguration of war." The political maneuver of the expedition was to gain an advantage whether the fort was reinforced or compelled to surrender. But Captain Fox cared little for the politics in the question and therefore planned for a successful, forcible, hostile reinforcement with provisions and troops. His plan required three hundred sailors, a full supply of armed launches, three tugs, and the support of the ships of war assigned him by the Secretary, and the "Baltic" freighted with stores and recruits. The expedition meant war as far as evidences by preparation can prove the warlike intent. The expedition was as warlike as the Spanish Armada, and its failure does not defend it from the true charge that it was designed to institute war against the Confederate States.

It is not to be presumed that the policy of Mr. Lincoln in this special expedition had no outlook beyond the provisioning of Fort Sumter. Success in that venture would have necessitated, upon the same policy, the reduction of the other forts and the occupation of Charleston. In the changes in the plan, which were ordered in Washington, Mr. Lincoln was not conscious that his signature to the orders would deprive the expedition of the means to accomplish an object which he held to be of vital importance. The feebleness therefore with which hostilities were inaugurated was owing to the storms of the sea, and the interference at Washington while the expedition was in progress, but not with any intent that ample force should not be used.

The political aspect of this event reveals an astute calculation of consequences following the failure or the success of the expedition. If successful, Charleston must fall into Federal control; if unsuccessful, the Confederates, having been forced to fire the first gun, would be at disadvantage before the country on that account. In either case the result could be turned to profit. The

timely letter written from Washington May 1st, by Mr. Lincoln to console Captain Fox, sustains this view. In this cordial letter the sympathizing President says to Captain Fox: "I sincerely regret that the failure of the late attempt to provision Fort Sumter should be a source of any annoyance to you. The practicability of your plan was not in fact brought to a test. By reason of a gale, well-known in advance to be possible and not improbable, the tugs, an essential part of the plan, never reached the ground, while by an accident for which you were in nowise responsible, and possibly I to some extent was, you were deprived of a war vessel with her men which you deemed of great importance to the enterprise. I most cheerfully and truly declare that the failure of the undertaking has not lowered you a particle, while the qualities which you developed in the effort have greatly heightened you in my estimation. For a daring and dangerous enterprise of a similar character you would to-day be the man of all my acquaintances whom I would select. You and I both anticipated that the cause of the country would be advanced by making the attempt to provision Fort Sumter even if it should fail, and it is no small consolation now to feel that our anticipation is justified by the result." The calculation was thus coolly made by President Lincoln and Captain Fox that the mere attempt itself to reinforce Sumter would accomplish a desired political result. If it caused the firing of a single gun by the Confederates, if the attempt caused the military reduction of the fort by the secessionists, or if the expedition composed of strong ships, manned by disciplined, well-armed troops, should succeed; in any event "the cause of the country would be advanced by making the attempt to provision Fort Sumter." The consolation of the administration came with the fulfillment of the anticipation shown in the issue of the President's proclamation, the firing of the Northern heart on account of the firing of the first gun

on the flag, and the consequent response to the call for seventy-five thousand volunteers to invade the South and put down "the rebellion."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE CALL TO ARMS.

LINCOLN'S CALL FOR 75,000 VOLUNTEERS—RESPONSES OF GOVERNORS — CONFEDERATE PREPARATIONS FOR DEFENSE—POLITICAL EFFECT IN THE NORTH —CONFEDERATE CONGRESS SUMMONED TO MEET —LETTERS OF MARQUE—BLOCKADE—MEASURES OF CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

PRESIDENT Lincoln was evidently prepared to hear that the Confederates had resisted his warships and that Fort Sumter had surrendered. His proclamation calling for 75,000 volunteers for three months to suppress the insurrection and summoning Congress in extra session on the 4th of July was promptly written on the 14th of April and dated as being issued April 15th, within a day after the delivery of Fort Sumter to General Beauregard. The proclamation recited that the combinations formed by seven States were too powerful to be suppressed by judicial proceedings, and it was therefore thought fit to call out the militia of all the States to the number of seventy-five thousand. The persons composing the "combinations" were also commanded to "disperse within twenty days." On the same day the secretary of war made his formal requisition for three months' militia on the governors, assigning to each the quota of his State. Fort Sumter was surrendered on Saturday the 13th, evacuated on Sunday the 14th, on Monday the 15th these documents were spread throughout the country by the press, and on Wednesday troops were put in motion toward Washington. This extraordinary celerity is evidence of the well-devised plan to produce an issue on which coercion

could be made popular on the plea that the South had fired the first gun and begun the war.

The responses to the call for troops from the "war governors" were as prompt as the proclamation itself; but the governor of Kentucky replied, "Kentucky will furnish no troops for the wicked purpose of subduing her sister States." The governor of Virginia responded that "the militia of Virginia will not be furnished to the powers at Washington for any such use or purpose as they have in view." The governor of Tennessee said, "Tennessee—not a man for coercion, but 50,000 for defense of our rights and those of our Southern brothers." The governor of North Carolina replied tartly, "I can be no party to this wicked violation of the laws of the country and to this war upon the liberties of a free people. You can get no troops from North Carolina." Missouri's governor answered, "The requisition is illegal, inhuman, diabolical and cannot be complied with." Governor Hicks, of Maryland, replied by stating the condition of affairs in his State.

The proclamation dispelled all doubt of the purpose of the administration at Washington to enforce the claims by actual war by land as well as by sea, and preparations were therefore at once made in the Confederacy to defend the States from invasion. Virginia, South Carolina, Tennessee and Arkansas necessarily seceded, while Missouri and Kentucky announced their purpose to be neutral. The States thus late in the Southern movement against sectional abuse of the United States government held to and maintained the right of resistance even by separation but their actual exercise of the right was a forced and emphatic denial of coercion and a firm refusal to be made parties to an unlawful attempt to subjugate the Southern States which had seceded. They joined these States in secession, not to make war for conquest, nor for National aggrandizement, nor to destroy the Union, but to repel an invasion already imminent and to defend themselves

against armies already in the field, ready to march upon campaigns for conquest.

The Confederate Congress was not in session during these exciting events and President Davis with his entire cabinet and executive officials was still at Montgomery. The States were barely adjusted to their new relations and it was not possible for the Confederate States to do more than to rapidly gather together their men to defend their soil. No hostile movement against Washington was feasible, but the cry of danger to the capital was shrewdly used at once to rally the North. While Virginia, North Carolina and Maryland were yet in the Union on the date of the proclamation of Lincoln, they would unquestionably have refused permission for the transportation of any troops of the existing Confederacy across their territory to attack Washington. Probably the secession of Maryland would have imperiled the capital but it was in no wise endangered even after the secession of Virginia by the prompt movement of that State to gain possession of Harper's Ferry. Yet the politic appeal for troops to rally for defense of the nation's capitol was made with good effect, and the excitement was increased in consequence of the position taken by Maryland that the United States ought not to use that State in conveying armed men to invade Virginia. Governor Hicks had consented to ask the administration to respect the wishes of Maryland to have no Federal troops sent over its territory to invade Virginia, and on April 16th Mr. George P. Kane telegraphed to know whether an attempt would be made to pass volunteers from New York intended to make war upon the South. On the 19th General Thomas, adjutant-general, wired that "Governor Hicks has neither right nor authority to stop troops coming to Washington. Send them on prepared to fight their way through if necessary," which message was sent "by order of the Secretary of war." The military department of Washington was at once extended over Maryland, Delaware and

Pennsylvania, by General Scott, and posts were ordered to be established "all along the road from Wilmington, Delaware, to Washington City." Citizens of Baltimore sent telegrams to Mr. Cameron, April 19th, imploring him not to send troops through their city. The Baltimore and Ohio railroad refused to transfer the troops. But notwithstanding all these precautions the issue was made by pressing a body of Massachusetts soldiers into the city and the tragedy of April 19th followed. Citizens resented this invasion, the Federal soldiers fired and thus the first battle of the Confederate war in which blood was shed, was fought on the soil of a State which had not seceded.

The political effect, however, was satisfactory to the administration for the time, and an agreement was then made with the mayor of Baltimore that troops should not be sent through the city. Annapolis was then substituted as the rendezvous en route to Washington, but finally the occupation of Maryland was made complete. Orders rapidly followed to place troops in position to advance on Baltimore and for a short time the war on the Confederacy was concentrated against Maryland. In less than five days after the unfortunate occurrences on the 19th of April in Baltimore, the Federal troops were passing through Annapolis to Washington. "A joint movement was contemplated from Philadelphia and Annapolis against Baltimore. The legislature was called to meet at Frederick City and the spirit of resistance pervaded many parts of the State. But the disadvantages were too great to be overcome and in a few weeks Baltimore was held by the Federal army."

President Davis issued a proclamation on the 12th of April previously to the fight for Fort Sumter, convening the Congress on the 29th, "prompted by the declaration of hostilities contained in the message sent by President Lincoln to the governor of South Carolina delivered on the evening of April 8th." He stated as a ground of apprehension of trouble that the naval expedition fitted

out in New York to operate against the Southern coast was already out at sea, and "according to the usual course of navigation the vessels designed for Fort Sumter might be looked for on April 9th." Hence the promised notice by President Lincoln was not communicated to the commissioners at Washington, although dated April 6th, but was timed to reach Charleston at a late hour on the eve on which the fleet was scheduled to arrive at that port. A storm delayed the expedition. The delay gave time for communication between Charleston and Montgomery, which resulted in the defeat of the hostile descent, and thus the immergent proclamation by President Davis of April 12th to assemble the Confederate Congress, antedated the call of President Lincoln on the States for 75,000 volunteers. The Confederate government now saw that the design of the Washington administration was to "place the besieging force at Charleston between the simultaneous fire of the fleet and the fort," and hence it was necessary to reduce the fort before that purpose could be effected. Congress was therefore called; war had been commenced by the United States and action thereon had to be taken at once.

Two days after the call of President Lincoln for 75,000 troops the Confederate President issued his proclamation offering letters of marque and reprisal to all who may desire by service in private armed vessels on the high seas to aid the government in resisting aggression, basing his proclamation on the declarations in President Lincoln's call to arms. The seriousness of the situation was deeply felt throughout the South, amidst the general rejoicing over the accessions of border States, and the earnest preparations made by the Southern governors to meet all requisitions for troops. Planters realized that the need of food and forage supplies would be great, and while continuing to plant cotton they enlarged the area of corn. Merchants were crippled in business and commerce was

already stayed, but the realities of war were not yet experienced.

President Lincoln followed his call for the militia of the States by another proclamation issued April 19th declaring a blockade of the ports and promising to make it effective. Among other war measures the United States government caused to be seized at once all original and copied dispatches which had accumulated for twelve months in the telegraph offices. "The object of the government in making this seizure was to obtain evidence of the operations of Southern citizens with their Northern friends."(Amer. Ency., 1861, p. 718.) A few days later another call was made for additional troops.

The Confederate Congress assembled at Montgomery in obedience to the proclamation of the President on the 29th of April, 1861, two weeks after the surrender of Fort Sumter. The permanent constitution had been ratified by all the States and the pleasing fact was stated by President Davis in the first sentence of his message. The declaration of war made by President Lincoln in his proclamation demanded congressional action to provide for the defense of the country. The able message fully reviewed the history of the issues which had disturbed the peace of the country as well as the unavailing efforts of the Confederate government to effect a peaceful settlement. Referring to the patriotic response of the people to the call for troops, the message declared that requisitions for troops had been met with such alacrity that the numbers tendering their services have in every instance greatly exceeded the demand, and that men of the highest official and social position are serving as volunteers in the ranks. "In independence we seek no conquests, no aggrandizement, no cession of any kind from the States with which we have lately confederated. All we ask is to be let alone—that those who never held power over us shall not now attempt our subjugation by arms. This we will, we must resist to the direst extremity. The moment this

pretension is abandoned the sword will drop from our hands and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce that cannot but be mutually beneficial."

The Confederate Congress proceeded earnestly to do the important work for which it was assembled. Acts were passed recognizing the state of war existing with the United States, authorizing the issue of letters of marque by the President and authorizing him to accept the services of volunteers in the Confederate army without regard to the place of enlistment. Arkansas was admitted into the Confederacy, and Virginia being also recognized as one of the Confederate States, the members elect, Mr. J. W. Bockenbrough and Mr. Waller R. Staples, took their seats. Mr. T. J. Clingman, of North Carolina, present as a commissioner from that State, was invited to attend all sessions of Congress and participate in its deliberations. The appointment by the President of judges and marshals in Confederate courts were confirmed. On the 1st of April a bill was passed which gave authority for the issue of fifty millions of dollars in bonds, running twenty years at eight per cent interest or in lieu of these bonds twenty millions of treasury notes in small denominations without interest. The "produce loan" was devised upon the idea that cotton could be made a basis of security, the Confederate government proposing by this measure to take a loan in produce from the planters and issuing its bonds in payment. In response to the plan, conventions of planters were held in various States, committees to take subscriptions were appointed and within a few months the entire amount was subscribed. The device brought very little money into the Confederate treasury, but proved to be greatly useful in furnishing supplies for the army. President Davis remarked concerning its utility: "Scarcely an article required for the consumption of our army is provided otherwise than by subscription to the produce loan so happily devised by Congress."

Another bill provided that persons indebted to creditors in the Northern States may pay the claim into the Confederate treasury and were prohibited from making payment otherwise pending the existing war. The tariff bill was passed; but the blockade, although it was as yet ineffective, began to diminish foreign commerce to such extent that little revenue was obtained from that source. Mr. Stephens proposed at Montgomery to make substantial use of the "cotton power" of the Confederacy by a purchase on its part of the entire annual crops as they should become prepared for market and to pay the planters in eight per cent bonds running not over thirty years. The plan included the use of this cotton as security for government loans. The estimate was that four million bales would come into the possession of the Government before the close of the year 1861, and upon this basis the Confederate finances would be safe.

The sessions of Congress were usually held in secret in order to discuss fully the important practical war measures necessary for the defense of the Confederacy, among which was the question of removing the seat of government to Richmond. This necessary step having been taken on the 22d of May, a committee composed of Mr. Rives, Mr. Hunter, and Mr. Memminger was appointed to transfer the military department, and when all other arrangements for the change were made Congress adjourned. The reasons for this transfer of the Confederate capital to Richmond are given in a patriotic speech made by Mr. Howell Cobb, president of the convention, at Atlanta, Georgia, May 22nd: "I will tell you," said he, "why we did this. The Old Dominion has at last shaken off the bonds of Lincoln and joined her noble Southern States. Her soil is to be the battle ground and her streams are to be dyed with Southern blood. We felt that her cause was our cause, and that if she fell we wanted to die by her. We have sent our soldiers on to the posts of danger and we wanted to be there to aid and

counsel our brave boys. In the progress of the war further legislation may be necessary, and we will be there that when the hour of danger comes we may lay aside the robes of legislation, buckle on the armor of the soldier, and do battle beside the brave men who have volunteered for the defense of our beloved South."

Mr. Blaine remarks concerning the state of affairs at this date: "The Confederacy was growing in strength daily, State after State was joining it; energy and confidence prevailed throughout all its borders." (Twenty Years, p. 314) In addition to the important accessions already named North Carolina joined the Confederacy; Tennessee authorized a military league with it; Maryland divided and enthralled made a protest against secession, but still opposed coercion; the governor of Kentucky issued a proclamation of neutrality; and Missouri was forbidding hostilities inside its limits. Foreign nations were beginning to manifest a purpose to maintain neutrality and recognize the belligerency of the two governments. There was a great lack in the South of arms and ammunition, but none of volunteers; the food supplies were as yet abundant; the Southern people were united, and "the flower of their youth" were eagerly pressing into military service.

CHAPTER XIV.

MILITARY AND POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

CONFEDERATE WAR POLICY — PRESIDENT DAVIS' PROCLAMATION — SYMPATHY FOR MARYLAND — VIRGINIA FORCES ORGANIZED BY LEE — FEDERALS CROSS THE POTOMAC — CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT TRANSFERRED TO RICHMOND — CONGRESS OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES AND THE UNITED STATES — MESSAGES — PERPLEXING QUESTIONS — FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

THE Confederate policy was to conduct the war defensively. President Davis had sufficiently intimated his own views through his message of April 29th, 1861, and while there was no little popular call for immediate relief of Maryland, the counsel for a defensive policy prevailed. The Vice-President, Mr. Stephens, who had negotiated with Virginia the immediate union of that great State with the Confederacy, said in a public speech April 30th, "A general opinion is that Washington City is soon to be attacked. On this subject I can only say that our object is peace. We wish no aggressions on any one's rights, and will make none. But if Maryland secedes, the District of Columbia will fall to her by reversionary right, the same as Sumter to South Carolina, Pulaski to Georgia, and Pickens to Florida. When we have the right, we will demand the surrender of Washington, just as we did in the other cases, and will enforce our demand at every hazard, and at whatever cost." President Davis, perceiving that the main attack by land would be made upon Virginia, was actively co-operating with Governor Letcher to meet the threatened invasion of his State. His unavailing sympathy for Maryland is

at this day expressed in his correspondence with the Virginia authorities in which he urged them to "sustain Baltimore if practicable." But it was not practicable. Virginia, on adopting the ordinance of secession April 17th, organized the State forces, and after his resignation from the United States army, appointed General Robert E. Lee to the command of the Virginia army and navy. An "advisory council" was also selected, who had charge under Governor Letcher, of military affairs. Harper's Ferry, abandoned April 18th, was occupied by Virginia soldiers under Colonel Thomas J. Jackson, and General Taliaferro was placed in command at Norfolk. General Joseph E. Johnston was assigned to command of the forces of the State near Richmond. There was doubtless an enthusiastic feeling among the Virginia troops to "make a dash into Maryland, capture Washington and end the war." But the natural impulse was kept under the control of the leaders, and no such movement was seriously considered, although the "advisory council" requested the governor to send a commissioner to Maryland to ascertain the condition of affairs in that State, and endeavored to supply the requisition of General Steuart for arms.

The Federal forces, which had been assembled at Washington, began to cross the Potomac on the 24th of May, and meeting no resistance, took possession of Alexandria. Time had been taken to bring Maryland under military control, and Baltimore had been under the command of Federal officers since the 13th of May, after which the policy of the administration was now to reduce Virginia to submission and overthrow the Confederacy by the capture of Richmond. Troops were also ordered according to this plan into Western Virginia and steamers with reinforcements appeared at Old Point and Newport News, while the main army crossed the Potomac.

President Davis and his executive assistants arrived at Richmond from Montgomery as these movements began,

and entered actively upon measures to meet the formidable invasion. But by successive advances the confident Federals pressed their advantages, notwithstanding the checks they received and their signal repulse at Big Bethel on the 10th of June. The war cry "On to Richmond" was started by the Northern press to arouse enthusiasm in that section, and the meeting of the Confederate Congress at the Virginia capital was to be prevented, or if it should assemble the Confederate government must be dispersed. A quick crushing of the rebellion was declared to be the policy of the Federal administration.

The Confederate government now presented to the world the aspect of a well-organized nation attacked by another nation seeking its subjugation. Its people had expressed their will by unconstrained ballot in favor of secession—the States had acted in accordance with this popular expression—the written Constitution evidenced the wisdom of their Statesmen—and the organization of all departments of civil government was complete. The change from association with the United States to the Confederate States had produced no popular outbreak, nor embarrassed the administration of justice in the courts. Commerce was interrupted only on account of the hostility of the United States to the withdrawal of the seceded States, but in all other respects the great event was unattended by any circumstances that occur in violent revolutions.

The Confederate Congress assembled in the hall of the House of delegates, Richmond, Virginia, on Saturday, July 20th, 1861. President Davis' message was read and referred to appropriate committees. The secretary of war asked for the call of three hundred regiments additional to the one hundred and ninety-four regiments and thirty-two battalions already accepted, which Congress met by providing for 400,000 additional troops, and the issue of $100,000,000 in bonds, and the same amount in

treasury notes to carry on the war. Official reports show that all Confederate troops at this time enrolled constituted a force entirely insufficient to meet the large armies which the United States were calling into the service.

Confederate finances required the attention not only of Congress but of the experienced financiers of the Confederacy. A convention of bankers had met in Atlanta, June 3rd, and after electing Mr. G. B. Lamar, president, and Mr. James S. Gibbs, secretary, passed resolutions to advance funds to the government until its treasury notes could be issued, and then adjourned to meet in Richmond, July 24th, during the sitting of Congress. At that time the patriotic bankers again met, in larger numbers, comprising representatives from all the principal banks of the South, and pledged their full financial support of the government.

The Congress laid a direct tax assessed by States which it supposed would yield fifteen millions, and authorized the issue of one hundred millions in treasury notes, but the fifteen millions borrowed in February, the loans on produce, and the measures of the former and the present Congress, all combined, placed at the control of the government very little above two hundred millions of dollars to carry on the war. The States, however, acting separately, made special and large appropriations, and individual resources were used in generous donations for the equipment of volunteers. Confederate money was freely received and used everywhere by the banks, and in commerce by the people. So great, however, was the paper issue even in 1861, by States, counties and corporations, which could not be absorbed in trade, on account of the blockade, that depreciation took place at once. In the summer of 1861 specie went to a premium of 15 per cent for the best currency, and at the close of the year the depreciation had gone to nearly fifty cents on the dollar. Congress endeavored to preserve the Confederate credit by all measures it could devise. Sustained by

the banks it made its loans at what should be considered a low rate of interest, and attempted to provide for the payment of that interest by special tax of fifty cents upon each one hundred dollars in value upon nearly all real and personal property.

The United States Congress met in extra session "in a fortified city" on the 4th of July, 1861. Among the distinguished leaders who supported war measures with vigor were Sumner, Fessenden, Chandler, Trumbull, Wade, Hale, Wilson, Sherman and Chase. The conservatives were represented by Pearce, Polk, Richardson of Illinois, Saulsbury, Bayard and Bright. Every New England senator except Morrill was given chairmanship of some committee. Sixteen States were put in complete control of the government. By a political understanding during these early months of the war, neither party was to take political advantage and endeavor to gain party credit by the success of coercion. Hence it happened that the disturbing slavery question was kept in abeyance except to agree by resolutions that the war was not waged to emancipate the slaves. The public declaration was to be made that the safety of the capital from the assaults of the insurgents, the saving of the Union, the rescue of Southern Union people from the control of the disunionists, the recovery of the forts and the honor of the flag, were to be the grounds of armed invasion in the Southern States. (Blaine, "Twenty Years," pp. 323, 353.) The House organized by electing Mr. Grow, speaker, defeating Mr. F. P. Blair, of Missouri. The war leaders were Stevens, Conkling, Washburne, Lovejoy, Morrill and Colfax. Opposed to them were English, Voorhees, Pendleton, Corning, Richardson, Cox, Vallandigham, and Crittenden.

The message of President Lincoln related almost wholly to matters of the war then in progress. The two things uppermost for earnest consideration were the armies and the money necessary to conduct a vigorous war.

Referring to the occupancy of Fort Sumter by the Federal garrison, he claimed this to be necessary in order to maintain "visible possession" and that the Confederate Government desired to reduce the fort for a similar reason. It also wanted the advantage of visible possession. The President attacked Virginians with a severity which betrayed the disappointment of his desires to control that State, and with some evidence of anger signified a purpose to make the State suffer for its action. (Blaine, 335.) "The people of Virginia," said he, "have allowed this giant insurrection to make its nest within her borders and this Government has no choice left but to deal with it where it finds it." The President asked Congress to furnish him for this purpose "four hundred thousand men and four hundred millions of money." Congress legislated on scarcely any matters except such as affected the conduct of the war. Within a month after the message was read seventy war bills were passed. The President's unauthorized proclamations were confirmed, and his demands for men and money were complied with. All these extreme measures were not passed, however, without the resolute opposition of statesmen who desired to see the Union preserved without the destruction of the Constitution. The suppression of the writ of habeas corpus in Maryland was attacked from many quarters. Mr. Latham, of California, would not "indorse blindfold everything the government might do." Mr. Kennedy, of Maryland, protested against the proclamation as unnecessary and without warrant of law. Mr. Polk, of Missouri, urged that the President's conduct was perilous, and particularly characterized his interference with commerce as a crime which the secession of the States did not mitigate. Mr. Powell, of Kentucky, opposing the resolution to legalize the President's acts, charged the supporters of the administration with the responsibility for disunion and war. "I think," he said, "that in this age as a Christian, enlightened people we should settle these difficulties without a resort to

arms. If senators on the other side of the chamber last winter had co-operated with senators on this side, and we could have had a corresponding action in the House, I have no doubt all these difficulties could have been settled. * * * When the warlike spirit that now sweeps over this land shall have subsided, the people of this country will calmly and dispassionately look into the history of the times, and if this government be overthrown, impartial history will hold you responsible for it; for you could have settled the controversy; you could have settled it peaceably; you could have settled it without impairing any rights of any man or any State in the North by granting proper guarantees to the South which would do you, your property or your States no harm. You declined to do it; the responsibility is with you." The defense of the President was equally strenuous, and the resolution confirming his acts was agreed to.

Perplexing questions confronted both governments immediately upon the institution of hostilities between States which had so long continued in the Union together, under their constitutional agreement. Among them were the "war" power of the President of the United States, or of Congress, the extent of the authority of military commanders, the disposition of captured or refugee slaves, the relation of the people of a seceded State to the State government, the treatment of persons captured in arms on land or sea, and such like. The Federal Government caused all these questions to become all the more perplexing by its persistence in assuming that the secession of the States was a mere insurrection and their confederation was only a combination of individuals. Certain constitutional difficulties that stood in the way of coercion were so plainly pointed out by jurists who were accustomed to construe the law without regard to political necessities that for a time the administration moved with some care in military operations against the Southern States. A few of these questions are here briefly mentioned

as examples of a large number which constantly arose and required immediate solution:

The "Savannah," a small schooner, was the first to sail June 3rd, under a Confederate commission as a privateer, and being soon captured by the U. S. brig "Perry," its crew were put in irons as pirates. Mr. Davis made an immediate demand that they should be treated as prisoners of war, stating to President Lincoln that "if driven to the terrible necessity of retaliation by your execution of the officers and crew of the 'Savannah,' that retaliation shall be extended so far as shall be requisite to secure the abandonment of a practice unknown to the warfare of civilized man." European nations agreed with the views held by President Davis, and by this course in the case of the "Savannah," as well as of the "Jefferson Davis," the United States government was compelled to respect the belligerency of the Confederate States.

Another troublesome question concerned the negroes in Federal lines. Immediately after the invasion of Virginia many negroes escaped from their owners into the Federal camps,—an occurrence which raised in General Butler's opinion, "questions of very considerable importance, both in a military and political aspect." Since these negroes would come into his lines, General Butler determined "until better advised, as these men were very serviceable, and he had great need of labor in his quartermaster's department, to avail himself of their services." He accordingly resolved to receipt for them as he would "for any other property of a private citizen which the exigencies of the service seemed to require." Another question raised by Maj. Carey in an interview with General Butler was the transit of persons and families northward from Virginia, which General Butler also settled by declining to permit their removal through the blockade on the ground that these families should be kept in Virginia as hostage for the good behavior of the

citizens, and for the further reason that this removal would reduce the number of consumers of provisions. (II Records 650.) A proposition was made by Governor Letcher to Mr. Hemeken, the agent of the New York and Virginia steamship company, to purchase the steamships "Yorktown" and "Jamestown," which he had already seized. The acceptance of this proposition by Mr. Hemeken raised a question in Mr. Seward's mind which he solved by declaring that the acceptance of the proposition was an act of treason. On the 25th of May, Mr. John Merryman, a reputable citizen of Maryland, was arrested at night in his home by an armed force and conveyed to Fort McHenry, where he was imprisoned. He sought liberation at once by his petition to Chief Justice Taney, praying the issuance of the writ of habeas corpus. Justice Taney took the customary legal proceedings against the military commander, but his writ being refused, and his order of attachment disregarded, the venerable head of the judiciary of the Union found the civil government powerless, and could merely record his decision that "upon the face of the returns the detention of the prisoner was unlawful on two grounds:" 1. The President under the Constitution and laws of the United States cannot suspend the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus or authorize any military officer to do so. 2. A military officer has no right to arrest and detain a person not subject to the rules and articles of war, for an offense against the laws of the United States, except in aid of the judicial authority and subject to its control. General Scott impatiently rebuked General Butler by telegram for his "hazardous occupation of Baltimore," which was made without his knowledge and approbation, commanded him to "issue no more proclamations," to which Butler replied that he acted on "verbal directions received from the war department." An order from General Scott quickly followed removing General Butler to Fortress Monroe, on account of which the removed

officer complained to Mr. Cameron that he was quite content to be relieved altogether, but "will not be disgraced." Mr. Ross Winans, of Baltimore, had been arrested by General Butler on the 15th of May and sent to Fort McHenry, but he was promptly released by General Cadwallader, who succeeded Butler in command. The Union defense committee, of New York, through its chairman, Mr. J. J. Astor, Jr., proposed to send a number of rifled cannon to Fort Pickens, but Secretary Cameron would "give no such authority as is therein asked for, and informed the committee that the war department would act through the agency of its own proper officers." On the 21st of May, the "Nightingale," of Boston, sailing under American colors, was captured by Alfred Taylor, U. S. Navy, with a cargo of 961 slaves, presenting the singular projection of the unlawful slave trade by a Boston ship into the great crisis of the slavery institution.

General Scott ordered the arrest of the Baltimore police board by General Banks, successor to General Cadwallader. They were accordingly seized and imprisoned in Fort McHenry, their powers suspended, and a provost marshal appointed. Marshal Kane had been previously arrested. These illegal and violent proceedings of General Banks were resented with warm indignation by the respectable officials who were thus taken from their homes by military force at night and confined in prison without information of the cause of their arrest. Having no redress by any court, they forwarded an able memorial to the United States Congress, accompanied by another from the mayor and council of the city. Congress received these memorials and by resolution called on the President to explain the arrest and imprisonment of these police commissioners. The President replied with the brief and formal answer that "the public interest forbade compliance with the request of Congress."

These very troublesome domestic questions were

matched by foreign affairs equally perplexing. Mr. Seward, as secretary of state, in charge of foreign affairs, had on the 9th of March addressed a circular letter to all the ministers of the United States in foreign nations urging them to counteract the designs of those who would invoke foreign aid in their attempts to overthrow the Republic, and describing the disturbance at home as a transient affair. Again on April 24th the Secretary forwarded a more formal and impressive letter to those ministers who were appointed to Great Britain, France, Russia, Prussia, Austria, Belgium, Italy and Denmark, specially relating to the question of neutrality in war. This diplomatic correspondence exhibits the early anxiety of the United States concerning the attitude of these great nations. "It is understood," he wrote to Mr. Judd, who was appointed to the court of Prussia, "that the so-called Confederate States of America have sent or are about to send agents to solicit recognition in Europe. * * * Your most efficient and unfailing efforts must be put forth directly and even indirectly to prevent the success of that ill-starred design." He continued and cautioned the minister at Belgium against the probable promise of the Confederates to make a tariff better suited to manufacturing interests than the existing United States tariff, and instructed him to say that "the tariff is not permanent and will certainly be modified if it should prove to be onerous to foreign commerce." The general correspondence with Great Britain was not pleasing to Mr. Seward, and Lord John Russell's remark to Minister Adams about the first of April that the matter was not ripe for decision one way or the other, was by no means satisfactory.

France was disposed to take no hasty action, but intimated quite early in April, 1861, that the Confederate government might be able to claim belligerent rights as a nation de facto; finally saying that the commercial interests at stake were so great that France was compelled

to join with Great Britain in meeting the condition of things which imperiled those interests. Mr. Dayton, the new minister, was promptly instructed to protest against any, even unofficial, intercourse between Confederate agents and the French government, and to declare that the United States cannot be content with any concert among foreign nations to recognize the insurgents as a belligerent power.

The Confederate government had sent Major Caleb Huse to Europe to make contracts for the manufacture of arms, and Captain Semmes had also gone into the Northern markets to make purchases of munitions of war. A more formal effort to gain access to the governments of Europe was made in March by the appointment of three commissioners, William L. Yancey, P. A. Yost and A. Dudley Mann, who went without delay to England. Afterward two other embassadors were appointed, James M. Mason and John Slidell, and eventually distribution of these eminent men among the foreign courts was made by sending Mr. Mason to England, Mr. Slidell to France, Mr. Yost to Spain, and Mr. Mann to Belgium. Mr. Yancey returned home and was elected to the Confederate Senate.

These representatives of the Confederacy abroad were all able and experienced statesmen. Mr. Yancey, a lawyer and political leader in Alabama, possessing the gift of remarkable eloquence, had often discharged positions of public trust. Mr. Mason had become an experienced legislator in the House and Senate of the United States; Mr. Slidell, also a member of Congress from Louisiana, a minister to Mexico, and United States Senator, and Judge Yost, a distinguished jurist from the same State, were all competent to discharge the duties assigned to them. Mr. A. Dudley Mann had gained extensive diplomatic experience in negotiation of treaties with the German states, and as special commissioner to Switzerland in 1850. He was also the private secretary

of President Pierce for a short time in 1853, and had afterward given his services to development of Southern resources.

The manufacturing and general commercial interests of European nations began to suffer, especially from the anticipated want of the usual cotton supply. The blockade was not regarded with favor nor a long continuance of hostilities in America, which had already suspended the profitable commerce of England and France. The Confederate commissioners pressed their claims upon the attention of the sovereigns to whom they were sent by all the indirect channels through which they could operate, and secured the sympathy of large numbers of men of prominence in commercial and political life. On the 13th of May, the decision of Great Britain to maintain strict neutrality and to accord to both contending parties the rights of belligerency was announced by the proclamation of the Queen. France had been inclined to tender its good offices to adjust American troubles, but had refrained from the fear of being misunderstood, and now simply adopted the course of England. No application in form had as yet been made by the Confederate commissioners for any purpose of recognition, but as Minister Dayton writes in June, there was a fear felt that a military reverse at this time, if it were to occur, would very decidedly incline France and England to recognize the Confederacy. Mr. Seward therefore directed all his efforts with great ingenuity, to prevent any foreign encouragement to the Confederate movement, constantly urging that it was "casual and ephemeral, a mere insurrection," such as European governments could not afford to encourage; one while threatening war on Europe and then making concessions even to a reluctant accession to the declaration of the Congress at Paris, pure and simple. The position that privateersmen were pirates was also abandoned, and the claim of a right to close part of its ports by a paper blockade was withdrawn upon the

significant declaration by the European powers that the execution of privateersmen would be inhuman, and an ineffective blockade would not be tolerated. Spain and Portugal published brief proclamations of neutrality, but the Emperor of Russia through a letter of Gortschakoff to the Russian minister at Washington, expressed his unfriendliness to secession and conveyed his assurance that "in every event the American nation may count upon his most cordial sympathy during the important crisis through which it is passing." Thus stood the relations of the two contending governments with the nations. The Confederacy had won its right to be known as a government de facto and to be treated as a lawful belligerent. Its proceedings had commanded the respect of statesmen, and its able commissioners were in position to present its cause to public consideration. On the other hand it was at disadvantage in the estimation of European courts in being classed among revolutionary governments, and was to great extent debarred public sympathy because of the slavery question. Its ability to maintain its independence by military resources had not yet appeared, while the widely published preparations of the United States impressively pointed out the military strength which was about to be employed to crush the rebellion. The status was expectant; events were not even foreshadowed; uncertainty prevailed while the armies of the two contestants were drawing toward the battle ground on the soil of Virginia.

CHAPTER XV.

FEDERAL RELIANCE ON PHYSICAL FORCE.

COMPARISON OF RESOURCES — THE ADVANCE TOWARD RICHMOND—CURIOUS STORY OF THE FIRST MANASSAS TOLD IN THE RECORDS—THE DISCOMFITURE TURNED TO POLITICAL ADVANTAGE —CONFEDERATE FLAGS IN FULL VIEW FROM WASHINGTON—QUESTION OF OFFENSIVE OR DEFENSIVE WAR—ADDITIONAL COMMISSIONS FROM THE CONFEDERACY TO EUROPE—ACTS OF CONFEDERATE CONGRESS—THE TRENT AFFAIR.

ALL civil movements of the period centered on the military situation. War was fully on between two powerful nations having the same civilization, language, religion and general ideas of government, and both unprepared to fight. The North with twenty million population, a regular army and navy, many manufactures of munitions, superiority in wealth, and with free access to the world by land and sea, was arrayed against the South with its six million white population, army and navy to create and to arm, without war supplies and with ports nearly closed. In intelligence, courage, energy, morality and devotion to country let it be conceded simply that the two peoples were equal. In physical resources it is plain that the superiority was with the North in the lowest proportion of three to one—but more accurately, five to one. Enthusiasm in its cause pervaded the South so that on the venture for independence its people in rare unity pledged all they possessed; while opposing appeals for the preservation of the Union and defense of the capital, coupled with the avowal that these alone were the objects of the

war, were answered at the North by an immediate flow of money and men to sustain the administration.

Four Federal armies of 100,000 men were now deployed upon the territory of Virginia, all disposed so as to bear upon Richmond, the capital of the Confederacy. Fewer than two-thirds that number of Confederate troops were maneuvered by their skillful officers to resist the invasion. At the first encounter misfortune befell the Confederacy in western Virginia, and notwithstanding the Southern victories at other points the Federal armies advanced from the Potomac during the first summer months of 1861, deeper into the heart of Virginia.

The battle of Manassas, July 21st, became the climax of these movements of the Federal and Confederate armies, in which the combatants actually engaged were nearly evenly matched, the Confederates putting into the fight a total of about 28,000 and the Federals assaulting with about 35,000 men. Whether by superior skill of Confederate generals and harder fighting by the soldiers, or any other cause, the fact of a most thorough and mortifying defeat of the Federals remains as the ineffaceable result of this early encounter between the two armies. The political purpose of the battle, based upon undue confidence in the immense preparations for overwhelming victory, also broke down completely, and the promoters escaped indignation only by the loud cry which they uttered for a vast army and unlimited expenditures to save the capital.

The story of this remarkable first campaign against Richmond is well told by the following extracts from the official dispatches as they appear in the "Records," the dates of which should be noticed:

Gen. Scott to McClellan, July 18: "McDowell yesterday drove the enemy beyond Fairfax court-house. He will attack the entrenched camp at the Manassas junction to-day. Beaten there the enemy may retreat both upon Richmond and the Shenandoah valley. I may reinforce him (Patterson) to enable you to bag Johnston."

Secretary Cameron to Governor Curtin, July 18: "The Pennsylvania troops were expected to have joined the forces going into battle this week. I trust there will be no delay to prevent them sharing the honors of the expected battles."

General Scott to McClellan, July 21, a. m.: "Johnston has amused Patterson and reinforced Beauregard. McDowell this morning forcing the passage of Bull Run. In two hours he will turn the Manassas Junction and storm it to-day with superior force."

Mendell to Gen. Thomas, July 21, 4 p. m.: "General McDowell wishes all the troops that can be sent from Washington to come here without delay."

Gen. Scott to the general commanding at Baltimore, July 21: "Put your troops on the alert. Bad news from McDowell's army, not credited by me."

Capt. Alexander to Washington: "General McDowell's army in full retreat. The day is lost. Save Washington and the remnants of this army. The routed troops will not reform."

Gen. Scott to McClellan: "McDowell has been checked. Come down to the Shenandoah valley and make head against the enemy in that quarter. Banks and Dix will remain in Baltimore, which is liable to revolt."

Gen. Scott to McDowell: "Under the circumstances it seems best to return to the line of the Potomac."

Jefferson Davis to Gen. Cooper, Manassas, July 21: "Night has closed upon a hard fought field. Our forces have won a glorious victory. The enemy was routed and fled precipitately, abandoning a very large amount of arms, munitions, knapsacks and baggage. The pursuit was continued along several routes toward Leesburg and Centerville until darkness covered the fugitives. Our force engaged not exceeding fifteen thousand; that of the enemy estimated at thirty-five thousand."

Col. Kerrigan, at Alexandria, to Cameron, July 22:

"There are about 7,000 men here without officers. Nothing but confusion."

Gen. Mansfield to Capt. Mott at the Chain Bridge, July 22: "Order the Sixth Maine to keep these demoralized troops out of their camp."

Gen. Mansfield to Gen. Runyan, July 22: "Why do the regiments I sent to you yesterday return so precipitously to Alexandria without firing a shot?"

Col. Thomas A. Scott to Gen. Mansfield, July 22: "Allow me to suggest that you man the forts and prevent soldiers from passing over to the city. Their arrival here would produce a panic on this side. The enemy is still pressing McDowell and you need every man in the forts to save the city."

W. T. Sherman to the adjutant general, July 22: "I have at this moment ridden in with, I hope, the rear men of my brigade, which in common with our whole army has sustained a terrible defeat and has degenerated into an armed mob."

Townsend to McDowell, July 22: "General Scott says it is not intended you should reduce your command to the minimum number of regiments mentioned by him to-day, but if the enemy will permit, you can take to-morrow or even the next day for that purpose."

Secretary Cameron to Moses H. Grinnell, July 22: "The capital is safe."

Gen. Scott to Gen. McDowell at Arlington, July 23: "It is reported that Mr. Jefferson Davis or the enemy is advancing on your lines. This is possible. Rally and compact your troops to meet any emergency."

These few extracts from the records exhibit the utter rout of the Federal army in a state of panic which was transmitted even to the Congress at Washington. Mr. Crittenden, on the 22d of July, seized the opportunity to propose a declaration, afterwards called the "panic resolution," of certain good intentions of the government in making the aggression upon the South, which was passed

without delay. A determined effort was made to cast the blame of the battle upon General Scott, but in his own defense he at once declared that he had fought the battle against his judgment. He said in the presence of Washburne, Logan, McClernand and Richardson, who were conferring with President Lincoln and the secretary of war, "After my superiors had determined to fight it, I did all in my power to make the army efficient." Mr. Lincoln replied: "Your conversation seems to imply that I forced you to fight this battle." To which General Scott responded: "I have never served a President who has been kinder to me than you have been." This evasive answer was accepted as an exoneration of the President, but the secretary of war and the cabinet generally were understood as having insisted on a forward movement and a successful battle at that time. Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, in addressing the House on this question, said:

"Mr. Speaker, standing here in my place, I desire to say of Abraham Lincoln—If you let him alone he is an honest man; but I am afraid he has not the will to stand up against the wily politicians who surround him and knead him to their purposes."

The Southern people were enthusiastic in their first congratulations at the result of this great encounter of the armies, but as they learned more of the disintegration of McDowell's army there was much criticism of the cessation of pursuit. It appeared to many that Maryland might have been occupied, Washington captured and the war ended. The question, however, may never be settled, since even the participating generals and intelligent civil officials disagree. It is in evidence, however, that the Southern army lacked sufficient cavalry, that the troops had been engaged for two days and sank down in weariness to rest at midnight after their great victory, that they fought their battle against odds and it was not known, even the next day, that the rout was so complete. Besides, heavy rains set in, rendering the Virginia roads

impassable, while sickness had withdrawn at least twenty per cent from the effective force. President Davis personally testifies that he himself did not antagonize the wishes which any officer expressed to make an immediate advance into Maryland. The Confederate army was, nevertheless, in fact, moved far forward and occupied Munson's Hill, where the inhabitants of Washington could see its flags waving. After a few days' rest and recruits having arrived, the Confederate army favored the forward movement with an eager desire to liberate Maryland, believing that bold aggression would speedily terminate hostilities. Another view was held, that the change of the Confederate war policy from the defensive to the offensive would arouse the North, break down the peace party and overthrow all influential men in the North who were seeking an opportunity to bring the war to a close, honorable to both sides. From this class of Northern men the most earnest appeals were made to Southern leaders to prevent invasion. At the same time it was known that England and France, after according belligerent rights, had intimated, much to the indignation of Mr. Seward, that possibly the Confederate States might be able to make a case demanding the recognition of its nationality. It was thought advisable to press at once this claim because from the date of the victory at Manassas the Confederate government was rightfully entitled to this foreign courtesy. In its official offices it was administering wisely all the regular functions of the good government of a people who were united in its support. It had tendered its hand to be taken into the fellowship of nations by regular appointment of eminent embassadors. It had large territory, ample resources and all possessions needful to sustain its population and contribute to the commerce of the world. And now it had demonstrated its military ability by assembling a strong army and achieving a success in battle of an imposing magnitude. But the appeal was made in vain. The European powers

merely seized upon this and other successes of the Confederates to worry the Washington administration and to hold a position from which either side could be taken as the war might turn.

The belligerent effect on the Northern mind by the battle of Manassas appears to have been really produced by the boldness displayed by Mr. Lincoln. He rallied the terrified Congress to provide for an army of 500,000 men, stirred up the war governors and called General McClellan to Washington to take charge of the work of organizing, equipping, and disciplining the great force with which he proposed to renew the contest. The fears of "a border outbreak," which had in part caused the passage of the panic resolution of Mr. Crittenden, contributed, however, to a change of the field of military operations from the ill-fated territory of Virginia to the Southern coast and the Western States, thus diverting the thoughts of the Federals from their bad fortune at Manassas. In August strong naval expeditions were sent southward, which succeeded in securing a foothold on the coasts of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia; armies were collected in the West for the purpose of holding Missouri and Kentucky; and with an ever-present fear that Washington might be captured, it was carefully curtained with an increasing number of defenses.

The hope of the Southern people that peace would follow this bloody battle was deferred by these Northern preparations for more powerful and extensive invasions. The Confederate States after uttering their congratulations found it to be necessary to prepare again for battle, and although Congress recorded its gratitude for victory and its hope for peace, the demand for war legislation was as great as ever. President Davis nominated Beauregard for the rank of general, which was at once unanimously confirmed by Congress. As a special distinction the commission was dated July 21, 1861, the date of the Confederate victory at Manassas. Two ad-

ditional commissioners to Europe were authorized by Congress to be appointed by the President, and he was also empowered to determine the destinations of commissioners already appointed under former congressional action. Congress recognized the State government of Missouri with Claiborne F. Jackson, governor, and provided for its admission into the Confederacy when the Constitution should be ratified by the legally constituted authority. The same act provided for material aid to be given to the State while defending itself against invasion by the Federal armies. The Confederate government was also constrained in view of the full development of the war policy of the United States to adopt such a line of legislation as its necessities demanded. An act passed by Congress in May prohibited debtors from making payment to their creditors in the United States except such as resided in Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri and the District of Columbia. Payment generally ceased in accordance with this act, but the indebtedness was not transferred to the Confederate treasury as the act provided, the debtors preferring to let their debts stand and await the result of the war. At its close these debts were generally settled on terms satisfactory to the Northern creditors, and former business relations resumed. Another act was entitled "An act concerning alien enemies," under which President Davis issued his proclamation, August 14, 1861, requiring all alien enemies of the Confederacy to depart from the Confederate States within forty days of the date of the proclamation. The proclamation, however, was not applicable to citizens of the United States who would make declaration of intention to become citizens of the Confederacy, nor was it extended to citizens of the States of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, District of Columbia; the territories of Arizona and New Mexico, and the Indian Territory south of Kansas were also excepted. Very few persons left the Confederate States in consequence of this act, and its practical effect was merely to unify the population.

The Confiscation bill introduced in the United States Congress early in July produced debate, but was at length passed and approved by the President on the 8th of August. In retaliation the Confederate Congress subsequently enacted the Sequestration law. This Confederate sequestration act, although it was thought to be necessary to parry the force of similar legislation by the United States, was not favored throughout the States. The feature objected to most strenuously was that which required the receivers appointed under the act to apply for writs of garnishment for the purpose of enforcing answers from garnishees as to their possession of any property of the alien enemy. The law ceased to be enforced as the war progressed, although it had been pronounced constitutional by the courts. Another act was passed on account of the abduction of slaves by the enemy, which prescribed a uniform mode of preserving the evidence of the abduction and the value of the property to the end that indemnity might be exacted.

In accordance with the authority conferred by this Congress, the Confederate President appointed John Slidell and James M. Mason diplomatic agents in October, 1861, with power to enter into conventions for treaties with England and France. They were commissioned to secure from these European powers recognition of the Confederate government as a nation, based upon the vast extent of territory, its large and intelligent population, its ample resources, its importance as a commercial nation, and withal the justice of its separation from the United States. It was expected that these statesmen would be able to convince Europe of the ability of the Confederate States to maintain a national existence, as belligerent rights had already been accorded. With all the usual credentials and necessary powers the commissioners departed for Havana, Cuba, on the blockade-runner "Theodora," where they arrived in safety and were presented to the captain-general of the island by the British consul,

not in official capacity but as gentlemen of distinction. Afterward they went as passengers aboard a British merchant vessel, "The Trent," carrying English mails, and sailed for England. In the meantime Captain Charles Wilkes, U. S. N., commanding the United States sloop-of-war, "San Jacinto," carrying thirteen guns, who appears to have had a zeal not according to knowledge, was busy in carrying out a purpose to capture the Confederate commissioners and executed his designs with success enough to produce a sensation which involved his government in a serious difficulty with England, from which extrication was gained only by very mortifying explanations. Cruising near the island on the alert for the "Trent," Captain Wilkes sighted the approaching vessel on the high seas, and gave the command to "beat to quarters, hoist the colors and load the guns." The next proceeding was to fire a shot across the bow of the "Trent," which caused that vessel to display the British colors without arresting its onward speed. A shell from the "San Jacinto" across her course brought the "Trent" to without delay and Captain Wilkes then sent his executive officer with a guard of marines and a full armed boat crew to board the British ship. Lieutenant Fairfax, the executive officer, went aboard, and informing Captain Moir of the "Trent" as to the object of his visit, asked for the passenger list, saying that he would search the vessel to find Mason and Slidell. But while the English captain was protesting against this breach of international law and refusing to show any papers, the two Confederate commissioners with their associates, Eustis and McFarland, appeared and united with the British officer in his protest. At this juncture the other Federal officers in the armed cutter came aboard with a number of marines and other armed men of the boat's crew and the second cutter also appearing alongside Captain Wilkes formed a line outside the main deck cabin into which the Southern passengers had retired to pack their baggage. This show of force

was followed by the actual compulsion which it was demanded should be used and by which the commissioners were forcibly transferred from under the English flag to the boat for confinement aboard the "San Jacinto." The "Trent" was then permitted to pursue her voyage, while the "San Jacinto" steamed away with her prisoners to Fortress Monroe, and on arrival was hailed with the hearty laudations of Congress and the compliments of some portions of the press. Captain Wilkes for a brief moment was the pride of the nation. But in a few days he heard himself condemned for his officiousness in terms which showed very clearly that he had involved his government in a very disagreeable and dangerous controversy with Great Britain.

The boarding of the "Trent" was an outrage of national amity which could not escape the indignation of all maritime nations. It was perpetrated by a zealot who was too stupid to foresee its ill effect on the relations which his own country was endeavoring to maintain with Europe, and it produced a sensation which for awhile seemed to threaten the total failure of coercion. It is not surprising that on getting the full news of the event President Lincoln said to the attorney general: "I am not getting much sleep out of that exploit of Wilkes, and I suppose we must look up the law of the case. I am not much of a prize lawyer, but it seems to me pretty clear that if Wilkes saw fit to make that capture on the high seas, he had no right to turn his quarter-deck into a prize court." The shrewd President saw that Wilkes could not let the "Trent" go free, while he bore away from her the American passengers as "contraband," or as "conspirators," thus choosing to determine himself a question which only an admiralty court duly constituted could adjudicate. The President also soon realized that the rash act was very inopportune as well as illegal. Mr. Seward hurried to communicate with Mr. Adams, the United States minister at London, the shrewd suggestion that "in the capture

of Messrs. Mason and Slidell on board a British vessel, Captain Wilkes having acted without any instructions from the government, the subject is therefore free from the embarrassment which might have resulted if the act had been especially directed by us." "I trust," he wrote, "that the British government will consider the subject in a friendly temper and it may expect the best disposition on the part of this government." The penetrating mind of Lincoln had reached the core of the outrage, and the cunning Secretary saw the only way out of the difficulty. Mr. Adams was therefore immediately instructed as to his line of diplomatic work, even before the British government had communicated its indignation to its minister at Washington. But Earl Russell was soon ready to inform Lord Lyons officially that intelligence of a very grave nature had reached her Majesty's government concerning "an act of violence which was an affront to the British flag and a violation of national law." The Earl further expressed the trust that the United States will of its own accord offer to the British government such redress as alone could satisfy the British nation, namely, the "liberation of the four gentlemen and their delivery to your Lordship in order that they may again be placed under British protection, and a suitable apology for the aggression which has been committed. Should these terms not be offered by Mr. Seward, you will propose them to him." It should be borne in mind that the report of the affair made by Commander Williams, the British agent, to the admiralty must be accepted as the unprejudiced account of the events which transpired aboard the "Trent." With very slight protest Mr. Seward in answer to Lord Russell's letter admitted the facts to be as stated, and based the defense of his government mainly on the fact that Wilkes acted "without any direction or instruction or even foreknowledge on the part of the United States government." Upon all grounds the best course to be pursued was the one suggested kindly

and firmly by the English government, but Mr. Seward proceeded to write, after nearly a month's delay, an elaborate argument ending only as it must have ended, in his repeating that "what has happened has been simply inadvertence," and that for "this error the British government has the right to expect the same reparation that we as an independent state should expect from Great Britain or from any other friendly nation on a similar case." After this explanation and apology the Secretary concluded his remarkable document by writing that "the four persons in question are now held in military custody at Fort Warren in the State of Massachusetts. They will be cheerfully liberated. Your Lordship will please indicate a time and place for receiving them." Mr. Seward must have felt the sting which was put in the acceptance of his apology by the English government. That final rejoinder which went through the hands of Lord Lyons to the table of the secretary of state very coolly declared the apology to be full and the British demand complied with. Such pungent sentences as the following appeared in the final British communication: "No condition of any kind is coupled with the liberation of the prisoners" —"The secretary of state expressly forbears to justify the particular act of which her Majesty's government complained"—and Lord Russell threateningly says that if the United States had sanctioned the action of Wilkes, it "would have become responsible for the original violence and insults of the act"—"It will be desirable that the commanders of the United States cruisers be instructed not to repeat acts for which the British government will have to ask for redress and which the United States government cannot undertake to justify." The illustrious prisoners were placed under the British protection with as little parade as possible and Captain Wilkes was left to enjoy as best he could the compliments hastily voted by Congress. The Confederate hope that European nations would unite with England in some policy severer

than the demand for apology and restitution which Mr. Seward could so easily make was dissipated. The threatening affair produced a ripple, became a mere precedent in national intercourse, and passed away. Lord Russell and Mr. Seward were alike gratified by the termination of the trouble. These upper and nether millstones then went on grinding the Confederacy which lay between.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE PERMANENT CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

CHARACTER OF THE CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT—MESSAGE OF THE PRESIDENT—CONGRESSIONAL DEBATES ON WAR POLICY—USE OF COTTON, TOBACCO, ETC.—FOREIGN AFFAIRS—PEACE RESOLUTIONS—FREE TRADE DEFEATED.

ALL these historical transactions of the Federal Government in 1861, the relations of foreign nations, the military movements, the actions of Confederate and Federal citizens, have been marshaled in order, so as to furnish a medium through which a clear and just view may be had of the civil action of the Confederate authorities amidst the great difficulties which beset the cause they were chosen to manage.

We now enter into a further special investigation of the executive and legislative departments of the Confederate government in 1862, under the permanent Constitution, which had been ratified by the States,—the Congress in session, the President inaugurated, and all the orderly machinery of a well-established government in full operation, obstructed only by the coercive measures of the United States. We have under consideration a republican government, based on the confederated principle, exactly like the United States—a government formed by the agreement unanimously of several great States in a time of profound peace, which perfected a national union without insurrection or rebellion and without the arming of a regiment with intent of making war—a great government in extent of territory, in the

numbers and qualities of its people, in resources of prosperity, and with the prospects of exerting a wholesome international influence. It was now a little beyond one year old as a Confederacy, but many of its constituent States were among the oldest on the American continent, and all of them were habituated to the restraints as well as the advantages of free constitutional government. The ancestors of its people had framed the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, while as jurists they had construed the fundamental law, and as soldiers had led great armies on behalf of the common country. Such were the people who formed the Confederate States of America.

Within a few days after his formal inauguration, Mr. Davis sent in to Congress February 25, 1862, his first message under the permanent organization which has all the features of the grace and force which characterized the State papers produced by him. Its value as a historical document fairly exhibiting the state of the Confederate movement as well as its general principles is sufficiently great to authorize its introduction without any abbreviation, into general political literature.

The message was received with favor by the Congress and people of the Confederate States, and was closely read both in Europe and the United States by those who were greatly interested in the events transpiring on the American continent. Congress, as usual, distributed the able paper appropriately among the committees and then addressed itself earnestly to the consideration of all measures necessary to the conduct of the internal affairs of the Confederacy as well as to such as were required to meet the pressure of the war waged by the United States.

Congress, having assembled and organized in February, had under consideration a resolution offered by Mr. Foote, of Tennessee, declaring against the defensive policy of the Confederate administration, and in favor of

decided aggressive activity. The resolution read, "That whatever propriety there may have been in the original adoption of what is known as the defensive policy in connection with the prosecution of the pending war for Southern independence, recent events have already demonstrated the expediency of abandoning that policy henceforth and forever, and that it will be the duty of the government of the Confederate States to impart all possible activity to our military forces everywhere, and to assail the forces of the enemy wherever they are to be found whether upon the land or the water, with a view to obtain the most complete security for the future." The resolution was understood by many as designed to impugn the policy of the administration, as there had been in those States which were overrun by Federal armies very open complaint against the supposed purpose of the Confederate government to wear out coercion by what is called the Fabian plan of defense. These complaints now began to find an utterance in Congress itself. Mr. Foote very warmly urged the hearty adoption of his resolution, which expressed, as he believed, the conviction of the country. "No people in revolution," he said, "could be successful by adopting the defensive policy." Instead of his resolution being aimed at the President, as Mr. Jenkins, of Virginia, had asserted, Mr. Foote declared that he had high authority for saying here that Mr. Davis was opposed to that defensive policy which "somebody," he knew not who, had imposed upon the country. He proceeded to announce that Judge Harris, of Mississippi, who was the President's intimate friend, had authorized him to say that President Davis had no participation in stopping the onward movement of the Confederate armies. Mr. Foote insisted that a vigorous onward movement immediately after the battle of Manassas would have been advantageous to the Southern cause, and he now favored some similar movement. He believed that we should enter upon the soil of the enemy

and win an indemnity along with independence, but above all things that the war should be kept outside our borders. Another object contemplated through the resolutions was to let other nations know that the Southern people were resolved to achieve their independence. Mr. Boyce, of South Carolina, supported the resolution with a vigorous speech advocating "all possible energy in prosecuting an offensive warfare. We should have pursued from the first a more aggressive policy which would have given position to the Southern States, encouraged our friends, and discouraged our enemies. Such a policy had been indicated by the President when on his way to be inaugurated as President of the provisional government. Mr. Walker, the former secretary of war, had said that the flag should float over the Capitol at Washington. The expression was thought at the time to be unwise and that we should have used peaceful words while preparing for the war that might come. But the war should now be prosecuted with vigor." There was decided opposition expressed from many quarters to the resolution. Mr. Jenkins, of Virginia, led, declaring that the change of policy proposed would necessitate the increase of an army to double its present strength. Mr. Machen, of Kentucky, said: "I come from a land which is now resonant with the fife and drum from Yankeedom. Still I am not in favor of adopting a new policy, or having Congress dictate what shall be the disposition of our forces with regard to the enemy. Congress should not usurp the military power." The resolution was laid on the table.

Four days later Congress came readily to unanimous agreement upon another proposition concerning the unaltered purpose of the Confederates to effect a political separation from the United States. The resolution to this effect was offered by Mr. Rowe in the House, February 24th, as follows: "Whereas, the United States are waging a war against the Confederate States with the

avowed purpose of compelling the latter to reunite with them under the same Constitution and government, and Whereas, the waging of war with such an object is in direct opposition to the sound Republican maxim that 'all government rests upon the consent of the governed,' and can only tend to consolidation in the general government and the consequent destruction of the rights of the States; and Whereas, this result being obtained, the two sections can exist together only in the relation of the oppressed and oppressor because of the great preponderance of power in the Northern section, coupled with dissimilarity of interests, and Whereas, we, the representatives of the people of the Confederate States in Congress assembled may be presumed to know the sentiments of the said people, having just been elected by them; therefore be it Resolved, that this Congress do solemnly declare and publish to the world that it is the unalterable determination of the people of the Confederate States (in humble reliance upon Almighty God) to suffer all the calamities of the most protracted war; but that they will never, on any terms, politically affiliate with a people who are guilty of an invasion of their soil and the butchery of their citizens." This bravely uttered declaration against all terms of political reunion with the States from which secession had been effected, thus unanimously and officially announced, came nearly four months after the tabling of all conciliatory resolutions which had been offered in the United States Congress, and occurred during the heated discussion in Washington over the invasive army operations under cover of the new doctrine of "war powers." Its general tone was temperate indeed, except in the use of the term "butchery," as the killing of soldiers in battle was termed. This may be charitably regarded as an excusable reproach in view of the frequent application of similar epithets to Confederate people by their adversaries.

The disposition of the cotton, tobacco and other

products of the soil so as to prevent their falling into the hands of the Federal armies, and to make them available on the Confederate side, drew out the various views of members of Congress in frequent and extended discussion. The Senate had adopted the bill reported by its committee on military affairs by which it was made the duty of all military commanders in the service of the Confederate States to destroy all cotton, tobacco and other property that may be useful to the enemy, if the same cannot be safely removed, whenever in their judgment the said cotton, tobacco and other property is about to fall into the hands of the enemy. It was stated that not more than five per cent. of the cotton and tobacco in the Confederacy would probably be liable to destruction under this law. In the House, on March 3d, a resolution was passed advising all growers of cotton and tobacco to withdraw from cultivation of these products and to devote themselves to the production of provisions, cattle, sheep, hogs, and the like, in order to sustain the armies. But the resolution was earnestly opposed after it had reached the Senate. Mr. Brown thought that an advisory resolution would have no good effect. On the contrary it virtually offers a premium on treachery. Patriotic citizens would obey it, but the Shylocks bent on gain would pay no attention. He favored a compulsory law, and intended to introduce a bill of that nature. If there was evil in the cotton crop, we should take it by the throat. The vigorous prohibition under penalties proposed by the senators was declared by others to be violation of the Constitution, inasmuch as it worked a forfeiture, created a new crime for that purpose, and as a revenue measure, could not originate in the Senate.

Besides, Mr. Wigfall, senator from Texas, was not sure that it was good policy to neglect raising cotton. Unless we continue to raise it, England would foster its cultivation, and after the war the South could no longer control the market. This is the policy desired by Eng-

land, and it is that which has prevented the raising of the blockade. During the discussion, Senator Brown fell into the line of reasoning which was being so strongly followed in the United States Congress, that in time of war the powers of Congress were augmented, and that it was quite different from peace. To this remark Mr. Clay, of Alabama, soon replied that he must deny that the Constitution was so elastic as to be able to expand its powers in war and contract them in peace. The Constitution was the same always. The senator from South Carolina, Mr. Barnwell, was not ready to abandon the production of cotton, because it is not only a great source of wealth, but it increases our importance among the nations. He urged that we must raise it, hold it, and fight for it. The South must let the world know that we have it and will sell it cheap. The current of opinion seemed to set strongly against both the House resolution of advice and the compulsory proposition of Senator Brown. The senator from Virginia, Mr. Hunter, objected to the bill for compulsory legislation for the two reasons that it taxed the patriotism of the planter, and that Congress had no power to interfere with the internal affairs of any State. He did not believe that reduction of the quantity of cotton would be any inducement to foreign nations to raise the blockade. Great Britain desires to become the main producer of cotton, and is willing for it to be kept for years at a high price. Cotton is the source of power in the Confederacy so long as we can raise it in large quantities at low prices. On the constitutional question Senator Hunter held that the Confederate States government had not the least right to go into any of the States and say how much cotton should be raised. The sovereignty of the States themselves hardly dared do this, much less the delegated power of the Confederacy. The reasons given by Senator Semmes, of Louisiana, for his vote in favor of compulsory legislation, were that "the South must abandon all

dependence on foreign intervention for any cause. Cotton is not king. The English will not interfere, because it is not to their interest. Rather than make war on the United States, she would pay for the maintenance of her horde of starving operators in order to gain time to foster the growth of cotton in her colonies. Warning should be given to the South to prepare for a lengthy war, and that produce must be raised for subsistence." Mr. Wigfall suggested that England wished to see the Southern production of cotton destroyed in order to become both spinner and raiser and thus command the world. She abandoned the West Indies to abolition in order to foster cotton raising in India. The resolution was lost upon the final vote, but the debate showed on the one hand a conscientious and delicate regard for constitutional safeguards, even in doubtful questions, and on the other hand the admitted necessity for the production of ample supplies out of the soil to sustain the Confederacy. The allusions to England indicated the growing distrust of the policy of that influential power and the waning of the only hope that the Confederacy would have her sympathy.

In the matter of foreign affairs the Congress declined to send commissioners to the industrial exhibition to be held at London, and also refused to pass a resolution requesting the President to recall at once the Confederate commissioners who had been sent to Great Britain. The resolution further proposed to abandon all further attempts to conciliate the favor and secure the recognition of that government. The resolutions were not received with favor and failed to pass by a decided majority.

The policy of the Confederate States on the question of peace was indicated by a resolution unanimously adopted by the Senate, declaring that no peace propositions would be entertained which excluded any portion of the soil of the Confederate States. This was probably designed to reassure certain States which had at first

attempted to be neutral, that the Confederacy would not abandon them for the sake of securing peace. In West Virginia there was also a large number of adherents to the South who objected to the proposed dismemberment of Virginia. The resolution gave to them also a similar pledge that Virginia should not be divided by the consent of the Confederate States.

Another bill containing a retaliatory clause against the United States failed to pass. It was a House bill on free trade, repealing the tariff and throwing open the Confederate ports to the commerce of the world, except the United States. Congress adjourned on April 21st, to meet again on the 18th of August.

The privations resulting from the interruptions of foreign trade which caused the Confederates to practice the closest economy also gave a remarkable stimulation to all kinds of domestic manufacturing. Saltpeter and salt works were established, salt mines were opened, extensive tanneries were put in operation, foundries especially for cannon and for making swords and for altering and repairing guns were erected. Cotton mills were worked to their utmost, small woolen mills were built, and the manufacturing of boots, shoes, clothing and blankets sprang up in every State. The common domestic looms supplied with thread from the cotton cards, the reel and the warping bars, were built and operated by the Southern women in every county. Plain, of course, were many of the fabrics thus produced, but they sufficed to work up the raw material rapidly and contributed largely to meet the pressing wants of the armies.

A convention of representative business men from several States assembled February 26, 1862, in Richmond, to consider the uses to which the production of cotton and tobacco might be put in aiding the Confederacy. The question was under consideration in Congress, and its difficulties had not been solved. But the convention, with patriotic fervor, determined to devote these two

great crops "to the cause of independence," as the chairman termed the military defense of the Confederate States. Congress afterward legalized the destruction of cotton "whenever it was about to fall in the hands of the enemy," and this destruction for the general welfare created, of course, a claim on the Confederate government for the value of the destroyed product; but whether the claim would be met or remain forever unpaid did not prevent the ready sacrifice of the great staples by fire, as the Federal armies advanced into the Confederate territory.

The pressure of the Federal armies in all directions began to be so serious that the necessity arose for making use of the labor of negroes on fortifications. General Magruder had called the attention of the authorities at Richmond to this important means of constructing the needed defenses with sufficient rapidity to make them available, and after deliberation the measure was adopted authorizing the impressment of slaves for the purpose and providing for compensation to their owners.

Martial law was declared February 27th by President Davis over Norfolk and Portsmouth, and some months later over Richmond.

The reverses occurring during the early spring in the West produced disappointment at Richmond. Fort Donelson had fallen, the Confederate defenses were threatened in all Western points, and a general alarm was felt that the Confederacy would be split in halves by the resolute advances made from the Ohio river, and along the Mississippi. The governors of Tennessee and Georgia were aroused to special activity, the latter on account of the invasion threatening the seaboard, and the other by the invasion of his State.

The Confederates were cheered in the midst of the reverses they were suffering at many points by the renowned achievements of the naval gunboat, the "Virginia," in its victory at Hampton Roads over five Federal

vessels. The U. S. frigate "Merrimac" had been scuttled by the Federals on the first evacuation of Norfolk, but the Confederates raised her, and with ingenuity which confounded their adversaries, converted her into a ship of war, roofed and ribbed with iron, and floating deep in water. Dropping down the Elizabeth river into Hampton Roads March 8th, this strange ironclad, now called the "Virginia" and commanded by Captain Buchanan, destroyed the U. S. sloops "Cumberland" and "Congress," stuck the "Minnesota" aground in shallow water where she could not be reached, and ran off the other two Federal frigates. This gallant vessel next day attacked the newly arrived "Monitor" with daring gallantry, but being unable to break through the invulnerable armor by which she was protected, withdrew disabled to her former moorings.

The Confederacy will always be accorded the credit of having produced, in an extremity, with rough materials, and in a short time, a revolution in navies and maritime war. The ironclad ram now entered conspicuously upon the attention of all governments.

Another cheering event occurred which gratified the Confederate administration as a valuable auxiliary brought into action through the agencies which had been early established in Europe. The construction of the "Oreta" at Liverpool had been contracted for by the Confederate authorities in strict compliance with the laws respecting the obligations of neutral governments, but the building of the ship had been objected to by the United States government, and its movements were subjected to the closest scrutiny. At length, on March 23rd, the "Oreta," without anything aboard which could prove her to be a war vessel, sailed from Liverpool, arrived safely at Nassau, and was taken charge of by Captain Maffit, who had escaped with a cargo of cotton from the South. Under his command the name of the vessel was changed to "The Florida," and it became a

ship of war, subsequently doing great damage to Federal commerce.

The Confederate war department was now the center of busy and extensive preparations to meet the evidently powerful invasions of the South from all available points of its circumference toward and into the centers of its territory. General Lee was placed in charge of military affairs on the 13th of March. All furloughs for whatever cause were revoked by a general order issued by Adjutant and Inspector-General S. Cooper. The order recited that "the enemy presses on every side and the necessities of the service demand new illustrations of that noble self-denial which has been so many times evinced since the commencement of our struggle for independence." At Richmond it was acknowledged that the disasters we have suffered are mortifying to us and exhilarate our enemies, but they have startled without crippling the Confederacy. Severe criticism said, "Had the government lain still two months more, with the army dwindling daily under the furlough system, disgusted with the inaction of stationary camps, while it was quarreling with the generals and the people sinking under indifference, we would have been overrun between the 15th of April and the first of May." The harshness of this censure merely reveals the impatient temper as well as the alarm of many who did not fully understand the difficulties which prevented a more aggressive conduct of the defensive war.

The efforts put forth by the Confederate war management to procure arms for the men already enlisted, appear pitiful in any present view of the appeals made for any arm that would serve the purpose of a military weapon. The ordnance department was wholly stripped at this early date of all supplies, and the government as an expedient only caused a call to be made by Mr. O. Dimmock, colonel of ordnance of Virginia, upon the people to sell their double barreled shot guns, sporting

rifles or "any kind of weapon that will be useful in the field." Agents were appointed in various central positions to collect and forward these private arms. Regiments were recruited and mustered into service armed with guns suitable only for the sports of the forest.

Similar calls were also made for sulphur, lead and saltpeter. Speculation in these articles had occurred and was officially condemned. Bells were asked for to be converted into cannon. General Beauregard made his own special appeals for the gift of the bells of the churches. Women gave up their kettles and other copper utensils; country forges turned steel files into rude bayonets and useless pikes. Every available piece of metal capable of being used in increasing the munitions of war was brought into the common stock.

But it will be observed that in the meanwhile the administration was availing of every opportunity to get cargoes of cotton out to sea, and to bring in through blockade a return cargo of arms, clothing and blankets. Some of these returns came into obscure ports while others came by way of Mexico, overland, through Texas. The large quantity of arms which had been captured from the Federals was now in Confederate service, and manufacturing was urged and established to provide the supplies needed by armies in the field.

By the first of April the general condition of the Confederacy for defense was greatly improved. The absentees from the armies had returned, new recruits had come in, the short term regiments had re-enlisted, and the general spirit of the army and the people improved.

One event scarcely known, however, throughout the Confederacy, was the enforced abandonment, by the direction of the war department, of all lower Florida. The State had enjoyed a general exemption from invasion until the naval expeditions under Dupont resulted in the capture of the towns on the Atlantic side with little

resistance. Fernandina, Jacksonville and St. Augustine fell into the hands of the United States. Finally the entire coast of Florida was under Federal control. The war department removed munitions from the State and transferred the troops to Tennessee.

A singular scheme for the armed colonization of this State is described by a Federal authority of that date and is here reproduced to show the extent to which it was then supposed that the United States government might exercise the power of subjugation. "A scheme for the armed colonization of Florida was brought to the notice of the Federal government by Eli Thayer, of Massachusetts, during the year. It consisted of a proposition for an expedition of 10,000 colonists enlisted for six months, and to be supplied with arms, subsistence and transportation by the government, and a commander whose business it should be to occupy and hold the public lands of the State, and the lands of disloyal citizens which were to be seized for the non-payment of taxes under a law of Congress passed at the session then closed. It received some consideration by the government, but was not adopted." A resemblance appears between this scheme and a plan urged by General Sherman in a letter to his brother, the eminent statesman.

The military operations for the next two months, April and May, 1862, show advances made by the Federal armies and navies, and the skill, both civil and military, with which the invasion was met. McClellan, on the first of April, made a change of base and concentrated his forces near Fortress Monroe to advance on Richmond from the peninsula with a fully equipped command consisting of over one hundred thousand men. He was confronted by the Confederate armies under General Johnston, who at length evacuated Norfolk and fell back slowly on a well-chosen line of retreat toward the defenses around Richmond. In the West the Confederate lines of defense were totally changed by the battles

of Shiloh and Corinth and the fall of Nashville, nearly all Tennessee falling into Federal possession. Naval expeditions captured orbeleaguered the coast towns, including the important captures of Fort Pulaski and New Orleans. Meanwhile McClellan was steadily forcing his way toward Richmond and a crisis in Confederate affairs appeared to be coming.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE CONFEDERATE STATES' POLICIES.

SECOND SESSION OF CONGRESS—MESSAGE—BILLS INTRODUCED—DISCUSSIONS OF MILITARY EVENTS—LINCOLN'S FIRST EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION—RETALIATION—SEQUESTRATION—CALIFORNIA AND OREGON—COUNTERFEIT MONEY—COMMISSIONS TO WASHINGTON TO PROPOSE PEACE—THE LOAN—IMPORTANT BILLS—APPROPRIATIONS.

THE second session of the Confederate Congress began August 18, 1862, under the buoyant influences of the late victories achieved by the Southern army, relieving Richmond from siege and again driving the invading army back to the protection of the Potomac. The United States Congress had adjourned July 17th, one month before, and the Confederate States government was in full possession of all its proceedings.

The message of President Davis was read to both houses without delay. In its opening, the sufferings endured by the people, and the gallantry of the troops on hard-fought battle fields, were referred to with grateful expressions. Our army had not faltered, and the great body of the people had continued to manifest zeal and unanimity. The vast armies which threatened the capital of the Confederacy, had been defeated and driven from the lines of investment, and the enemy repeatedly foiled in his efforts for its capture, is now seeking to raise new armies on a scale such as modern history does not record to effect that subjugation of the South so often proclaimed as on the verge of fulfillment. With vigorous language the message described "the changed character of the hostilities waged by the enemy," reciting the destruction

of private property, the arrests of noncombatants, orders of banishment against peaceful farmers, confiscation bills designed to ruin the entire South, and many other acts which the message stigmatized as contrary to the usages of civilized warfare. The President also called the attention of Congress to the unchecked forgeries by citizens of the United States of the moneyed obligations of the Confederacy, suggesting that the United States civil government and the military officers must have knowledge of these crimes since the invading armies are found to be supplied with the spurious currency. Two generals, says the message, are arming the trained slaves for warfare against the citizens of the Confederacy, and the message points plainly to General Butler as one who "has been found of instincts so brutal as to invite the violence of his soldiery against the women of a captured city."

In considering these acts the message states that remonstrances made to the commander-in-chief of the United States armies had been evaded and that retaliation in kind in many cases is not only impracticable, but, as was remarked in an earlier message, "under no excess of provocation could our noble hearted defenders be driven to wreak vengeance on unarmed men, on women or on children." Yet stern and exemplary punishment can and must be meted out to the murderers and felons who, disgracing the profession of arms, seek to make of public war the occasion for the commission of the most monstrous crimes. The criticism that had been made on conscription had impaired the efficiency of the law, and in view of the necessity of harmonious action the President called on Congress to devise means for establishing that co-operation of the States and the Confederate States which was indispensable to success, declaring it to be his pleasure and duty to aid in measures that would reconcile a just care for the public defense with a proper deference for the most scrupulous susceptibilities of the State authorities.

The credit of the government was reported as being well sustained. The accumulated debt was still small, notwithstanding the magnitude of the military operations in which the Confederate States were involved. Congress at its last session had provided for an issue of bonds, to be used in the purchase of supplies, but sellers of produce had shown such a decided preference for treasury notes as to encourage the increased issue of that kind of currency. In answer to the apprehension that this inflation might produce a hurtful depreciation, the message proposed that the notes should be convertible into eight per cent bonds of the Confederate States, which was considered as a sufficient and permanent safeguard.

The war department earnestly advised additional legislation to promote the proper execution of the conscript act, and particularly to unite depleted companies and regiments by some fair system of consolidation. Some important railroads had become greatly impaired by the heavy demands for transportation, and it was becoming necessary for the government to take control of military transportation, and to put the roads into good serviceable condition. The President recommended an increase of the army to meet the large accessions recently called into the field by the President of the United States. Further enrollment may not become necessary, but that necessity might possibly arise during recess of Congress, and hence legislative authority should be given for calling such forces at once into the field. Referring to the exchange of prisoners he was able to state that the long denied object had been recently effected, and was being executed, and he expressed the hope that the cartel would speedily restore "our brave and unfortunate countrymen to their places in the ranks of the army from which by the fortunes of war they have for a time been separated." The navy department had been actively engaged in attaining the best possible results by the use of all the means it could command. Part of its effective work was

done ashore and part afloat. A few vessels had been constructed and equipped both at home and abroad. Ordnance and ordnance stores had been manufactured, coal and iron mines had been developed, and workshops established.

Mr. Miles, of South Carolina, introduced a variety of bills designed to extend the application of the conscription law to all citizens under forty-five years of age; to retaliate where partisan rangers captured by the enemy were not treated as prisoners of war, to enforce the laws on felonies against any soldier of the United States army committing felony by delivering the offender if captured to the civil courts for trial; to prevent the arming of negroes; to retaliate for the seizure of private citizens of the Confederate States by the enemy; to put an export duty of twenty per cent on cotton and tobacco as a fund to indemnify losses of citizens by the acts of the enemy. These bills show the nature of the legislation suggested by the events then passing rapidly into history. They were referred to committees, discussed and determined according to the judgment of Congress as hereinafter stated.

The increase in the army being the subject of discussion, the conscription law and its workings were discussed at length with considerable spirit. Mr. Foote called attention to the doubts of its constitutionality existing at the time of the passage of that measure, and expressed his opinion that if the expedient should be allowed to be established as a permanent system, the result would be the subversion of State sovereignty and popular freedom. The necessity under which the act was passed had grown out of neglect by the provisional government to legislate at the beginning of war so as to provide for deficiency in the army, and he alleged that no such necessity now existed because the States stood ready to respond to all requisitions. Collision with State authorities would certainly occur if the new law asked for by the war secretary

should be passed, as it would sweep into the Confederate army all the militia away from State control. Mr. Foote's views were sustained by some others in Congress, but the general course of the debate developed the disposition to coincide with the urgent request of the war department.

The bill extending the conscript liability beyond thirty-five years of age caused a very warm discussion, involving all general principles, as well as the details of the bill, bringing into permanent view the controversies which had occurred between the Confederate authorities and the executives of two or three States. The two houses disagreed and a committee of conference became necessary, which finally reported favorably to a concurrence of the House with the amendments of the Senate. The necessity, however, for a speedy enactment of the proposed extension appeared to be so great that Mr. Boteler, of Virginia, immediately after the report of the committee, called for the question in order to prevent delay by further discussion. On an appeal to him by Mr. Foote not to make the call, Mr. Boteler declared that whatever his desire might be to extend the courtesy asked for, he was now blind to everything except the welfare of his country. He had recently heard the army of Virginia appealing for reinforcements and it was now time for the eternal talk on the bill to cease. The call was sustained by the House, and the bill passed, whereupon Mr. Kenan, of Georgia, moved to reconsider the vote. He said that the act prevented an adjustment that could have been made to establish peace between the State and the Confederate States. The provision stricken from the House bill was that which authorized the President to make requisition for needed troops through the governors of States. The discussion on account of the conscript law had been created chiefly by its ignoring the control of the governor over the citizen militia in the States. He believed that requisitions on the governors

would be complied with and appealed for reconsideration in order that this cause of internal trouble be removed.

Mr. Foote sustained the member from Georgia in his motion, remarking that a state of dissatisfaction with the conscript law similar to that which existed in Georgia existed elsewhere. "Why should the consolidationists in the State dictate to the House the course it should pursue?" After further debate in which the propriety of the measure was carefully set forth, the House refused to reconsider by a decided vote of 53 to 24.

These congressional proceedings occurred amidst military events which brightened the Confederate prospect. Following the brilliant battle of Second Manassas, by which General Pope was dismounted from his "headquarters in the saddle," came the steaming of the Alabama out upon the high seas to become the terror of the United States shipping. Kentucky was entered by Bragg, and Lee was marching across the Potomac. Fright at Washington again disturbed the administration, and hope at Richmond shone like a star overhead guiding the Confederacy to success. The capture of Harper's Ferry by Jackson increased the Confederate expectations, but the battle of Sharpsburg and the withdrawal of Lee from Maryland tempered their joy.

By evident preconcert the governors of several Northern States assembled to advise President Lincoln and to renew their former pledges of support. This meeting was made contemporaneous with the issuance, September 22, 1862, a few days after the battle of Sharpsburg, of the first tentative emancipation proclamation, and also of the proclamation of general martial law by the President of the United States—the two documents expediently going together, since it was not yet clear that the radical change in the object of the war would be well received throughout the North, or be pleasing to the Union soldiers.

This first emancipation proclamation of President Lin-

coln, taken in connection with the arming of negroes for military service, and the attempted breaking up of plantation work, was construed throughout the South as the initiative of a policy designed to instigate servile insurrection. Southern people were alarmed at the atrocious results that could ensue through the United States military under some officers who had already manifested the desire to use negro insurrection as a means to a quick though horrible suppression of the rebellion. The soldiers being absent from their unprotected homes were also greatly incensed by a war measure so violative of the usages of civil war. These fears felt at home by defenseless women, and the indignation of the armies in the field, demanded the attention of the Confederate President and Congress.

The question was raised in Congress for the first time by the introduction by Mr. Semmes, of Louisiana, of the following strong resolution:

Resolved by the Congress of the Confederate States. That the proclamation of Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States of America, issued in the city of Washington in the year 1862, wherein he declares "that on the first of January in the year of our Lord 1863, all persons held as slaves within any State or designated parts of a State whereof the people shall be in rebellion against the United States shall be henceforth and forever free," is leveled against the citizens of the Confederate States, and as such is a gross violation of the usages of civilized warfare, and an invitation to an atrocious servile war, and therefore should be held up to the execration of mankind, and counteracted by such retaliatory measures as in the judgment of the President may be best calculated to secure its withdrawal and arrest its execution.

Very violent speeches were made, and some indefensible measures of retaliation were proposed during the discussion of the preliminary emancipation measure. The earliest impulses of the South, under the feeling that a

great wrong was to be attempted against the people in their homes, were to manifest resentment by retaliation of such a severe kind as to arrest at once the insurrectionary design. The most violent advocated the raising of the black flag and the discontinuance of all the courtesies of war, as soon as this attempt to employ the negroes against the people of the South should be put into execution. The majority, however, counseled moderation in view of the faith that the negroes would not be seduced in any great numbers to accept this method of securing their freedom. The resolution of Mr. Semmes was therefore referred to the judiciary committee which recommended the passage of a bill reciting in preamble the rights of the States to withdraw from the United States, denouncing the war of subjugation, and the manner in which it had been conducted, especially in the "war power" acts of confiscation, banishment, imprisonment, burning of dwellings, organization of slaves by military officers, blockading harbors with stone instead of ships, besides many other acts therein enumerated, concluding with the declaration that it is the evident purpose of emancipation by military force to excite servile insurrection, and that justice and humanity required the government to endeavor to repress the lawless practices and designs of the enemy, by inflicting severe retribution. The bill proposed to treat as felons officers of the Federal army who shall command, arm, organize or prepare negroes for military service; also all such officers who incite slaves to rebellion, or induce them to abscond under the acts of the United States Congress and proclamation of the President of the United States, providing that every such person when captured shall be tried by such military courts as the President shall direct; the President also being empowered to commute the punishment or pardon unconditionally or on such terms as he may see fit.

This bill reported by the committee, although guarded

in the violent provisions which were produced by the excited temper of the moment, was considered by Mr. Hill, of Georgia, and others as dignifying the proclamation beyond its real importance. Its author, President Lincoln, intended it as a brutem fulmen, and so Mr. Hill regarded it. He favored the simplest legal action of Congress in taking notice of it. In his opinion, the right existed to declare certain acts as crimes, and the actors as criminals, and a criminal cannot escape on a plea of being a soldier. As a member of the committee and in accordance with the understanding of the committee, he reported another bill, to be printed and considered by the Senate. Mr. Hill's bill, in two short sections, defined the injuries done to unarmed citizens under pretense of waging war, and the inciting of slaves to insurrection, or to abandon their owners, as crimes subjecting the offenders to be treated as criminals, and not as prisoners of war. The presumption would be against soldiers captured on Southern soil after the emancipation proclamation should be put into effective action, that they were there with intent to incite insurrection.

These bills and other resolutions were introduced and printed for consideration, all of which evinced the Southern feeling against any war measures which brought these unusual auxiliaries to the Federal armies against the lesser number of armed men which the South could bring into the field. But as the subject fully developed the extreme retaliation at first proposed grew into disfavor, so that on the last day the question was disposed of satisfactorily by referring the entire matter of retaliation to the discretion of the President.

The sequestration act proposed at this session authorizing the President by proclamation to direct all persons who adhere to the United States government to leave the Confederacy on pain of forfeiture of their property elicited discussion as to the powers of the government in time of war. The bill was opposed on account of the hardships it

would work upon good citizens who were inside the Federal military lines, and under duress had acquiesced in the rule of the United States.

Mr. Wigfall regarded the bill as of doubtful constitutionality because it invaded the right of the States to which their citizens were responsible and not to the Confederate States. Mr. Hill argued that under the circumstances of secession every citizen had the right to elect with which of the two governments he would act. The Confederate States had also the right to say that every citizen deciding to be a citizen of the United States should leave the Confederate States and go to the United States. But that decision once made by word or act to be a citizen of the Confederate States could not be changed at the pleasure of the citizen. The Confederate government had the right to define by law who are aliens and who are alien enemies. The Georgia senator had casually used the word revolution in referring to secession, which caused Mr. Wigfall to exclaim that Mr. Hill was agreeing with Lincoln and Seward in calling this a revolution. This, said he, is no civil war. There was an example of civil war in the State of Kentucky, where the citizens of the same State were organized in fighting each other. This is a war made by certain States against other States. He also insisted that there was no such person as a citizen of the Confederate States. Citizenship is by States, the Confederate citizenship comes through the States. There was no legal "allegiance" to the Confederate States. Mr. Hill replied at length that the citizen of the State did owe allegiance to the Confederate States. The first allegiance is due the State and through the State he owes allegiance to the Confederate government. Resuming his first proposition that the individual resident of the South at the outset of secession had the right to choose his government and go to its support, he said, "If this were not true the United States could hang General Buckner, of Kentucky, for violating an allegiance

with the United States, and the Confederate government could hang Andrew Johnson for violating an allegiance to this government. The old doctrine that allegiance once is allegiance always has been exploded. Citizenship is made up of the consent of the individual as well as of the government."

Mr. Oldham entering into the discussion expressed the view that every citizen of a political community owes allegiance to the sovereign power. In this country the people are the sovereign power, and every citizen owes allegiance to the political community that constitutes his State. He owes similar allegiance to this sovereign power that English people owe to the English government. Mr. Oldham's idea was that obedience was due to the Confederate government by the citizens of the State, but that his "allegiance" was due the State. The State could direct him as to his duty to the general government which it commanded him to obey. Mr. Hill answered that he would not quibble over words. All he had to say was that every citizen of the Confederate States owes allegiance to the Confederate States. Call it allegiance or obedience. His idea was that the States were originally sovereign and they are so still. As such they had the right to exercise sovereign power. By their own consent they delegated sovereign power to a common government, not to an agency, but a government, which they call a government in the compact, and in that compact they say that all citizens of States are citizens of the Confederate States. The men who were originally citizens of the States, and who are yet citizens of the States, owe their first allegiance to the States, but through the States they owe allegiance to the Confederate government. The Senator said that the State had the power to qualify that allegiance to the common government, but that when the compact was dissolved, the citizen had the right to elect. Alluding to the origination of secession, Mr. Hill showed that by recurring to the history of the United

States government it would be found that the great cause of disruption was the interference by States with a compact into which they had solemnly entered. "No man found cause for dissolution in anything that the Federal government did, for all declared that they wanted to preserve the Union until Lincoln was elected; nor in the decisions of the supreme court; nor could any objection be laid against the Federal Congress, for there the conservatives had a majority. What was the difficulty, Mr. President? The Northern States, sir, passed their personal liberty bills and nullified the acts of Congress. The State governments would not render up fugitives, declaring they were not criminals in withholding the escaped negroes, alleging they were not property; and the State judges took it upon themselves in their State courts to set aside the acts of Congress passed to carry out the fugitive slave law. These were the enormities that drove the South to her condition of determined secession. And when Mr. Lincoln was elected, it was thought he was seeking not to continue the Federal government, but to pervert the government and to accomplish through Federal agency what the Northern States had already sought to do by State action. That perfected the argument." Mr. Wigfall, expressing with some indignation his surprise at Mr. Hill's statement that the Federal government never trespassed upon the rights of the Southern States, brought out Mr. Hill's explanation that the trespasses of the Federal government were not the evils alleged by the people in seceding. It was the trespasses committed by the States in the North in their faithlessness to the common compact. "I held the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional, but the Federal government as such did not commit the trespasses which drove the Southern people into secession." Mr. Wigfall, interrupting with questions and remarks, denied very decidedly the observation of Senator Hill that there had been no cause of complaint against Congress on the ground

that the aggressors on the South were in the minority. "Why, sir," he exclaimed, referring to the last Congress under Buchanan's administration, "in that Congress the Black Republicans had an overwhelming majority in the House against us, and a tie vote in the Senate, with a Republican casting vote." The debate, wandering over a wide field of theories touching here and there the measure under discussion, was terminated by laying the bill on the table.

The foreign affairs committee had for some days under consideration a plan for establishing at least a sympathetic connection between the Confederate States and the States of California and Oregon and all territories beyond the Rocky Mountains. A league, offensive and defensive, was embodied in a series of resolutions which had been previously presented by Mr. Foote. California this year was entirely in the control of the Republican party. Leland Stanford was elected governor in 1861, defeating the two Democratic candidates. The united Democratic vote in 1861 was over 63,000 and Stanford's vote was 56,000, so that if Democrats had united Stanford would have been defeated. The party continued its divisions and was defeated again in 1862, when the legislature was strongly Republican. In Oregon similar divisions of the Democrats took place, and the old designations of "Douglas Democrats" and "Breckinridge Democrats" were used. The "Douglas" Democrats united with the Republicans in the "Union" party, and elected Governor A. C. Gibbs. The Democratic ticket polled 34,000 votes.

The counterfeiting of the Confederate treasury notes by parties in the United States (referred to in the President's message) who sold them in quantities to United States soldiers and others for use among the ignorant and unsuspecting people of regions over-run by the Federal armies, had become such a serious evil as to provoke strong remonstrance against the practice as being contrary

to the usages of enlightened nations when at war with each other, and to require the Confederate Congress to declare counterfeiting and passing counterfeit money by the armies of the United States a felony. This counterfeit money was styled by the counterfeiters "fac similes" of Confederate money, and was sold by them under that pretense, but the counterfeiting was so close as to be capable of ready use as money and was in fact so employed. Senator Clay, of Alabama, declared that "the enemy by counterfeiting our currency had aimed one of the deadliest blows at our cause. They had boldly advertised these counterfeits for sale and among their dead who fell in battle it was rare to find one who had not on his person more or less of spurious Confederate treasury notes. Some law to repress this counterfeiting by providing a speedy punishment should be passed." The bill was passed October 11, 1862.

The signal military successes of the Confederate armies occurring through 1862 encouraged the Confederate Congress to hope that a just and honorable peace might be concluded. There was always a general popular opinion that the Confederate government should seize every opportunity to bring the issue between the two governments to a peaceful solution. The government was constantly made aware of this disposition of the people, and was as constantly on the alert to find the occasion when the Confederate authorities could get access to the government at Washington. Such an occasion, in the opinion of Mr. Foote, had come in the result of the conflicts between the two armies during the summer. He therefore introduced a resolution to dispatch commissioners to Washington empowered to propose the terms of a just and honorable peace. Mr. Holt, of Georgia, also offered the following expressive substitute:

"The people of the Confederate States are and have been from the beginning anxious that this war with the United States should be conducted according to the rules

established by civilized and Christian nations, and have on their part so conducted it; and the said people ardently desire that said war should cease and peace be restored, and have so announced from the beginning: Therefore, Resolved, that whenever the United States government shall manifest a like anxiety and a like desire it shall be the duty of the President of the Confederate States to appoint commissioners to treat and negotiate with the said United States government upon said subjects or either of them."

These resolutions embraced the views of perhaps the entire body of Congress. Mr. Foote had been one of the most aggressive among the members of the Confederate Congress representing the fiery element, and Mr. Holt had been among the most reluctant to engage his State in secession. Together they represented a popular Southern sentiment that prevailed from the beginning to the close of the war. The resolution and substitute were tabled together pending the military events then rapidly following each other in Virginia.

The forced loan, as the bill was called to collect in kind one fifth in value of all produce and of all increase of live stock, the value of which was to be receipted for and the receipt to be exchangeable for six per cent income tax bonds, failed to pass, though earnestly pressed. Several important bills passed, such as the act to encourage the manufacture of shoes and clothing for the army, which provided for the admission free of duty of cotton cards, card cloth, machinery, and other articles required for manufacturing purposes. Another bill was passed to raise troops in Kentucky and Missouri, authorizing the President to appoint general and field officers for the organization of such forces. The rate of interest on the funded debt of the Confederate States was reduced, together with amendments to fix the rate of interest on the new issue of bonds at seven per cent, also to authorize the issue of six per cent convertible bonds. The appro-

priation bill provided for the following expenditures: For ordnance service, $2,500,000; pay of the army, $18,660,189; transportation of troops, etc, $7,404,075; subsistence of prisoners of war $200,000; bounty of $50 to soldiers $3,000,000; medical and hospital supplies $400,000; deficit in postoffice department $800,000; deficit in quartermaster's department $39,000,000; interest on the public debt $2,500,000; subsistence of the army $6,571,672.91. The total appropriation was $85,000,000. Having been in laborious session during two months of great excitement Congress adjourned October 13, 1862.

CHAPTER XVIII.

UNITED STATES MEASURES, CIVIL AND MILITARY.

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION—THE NECESSITY OF IT—EFFECT—THE SOUTHERN VIEW—NEGRO ENROLLMENT IN NORTHERN ARMIES—MEETING OF CONFEDERATE CONGRESS—MESSAGE—DEBATES—RESOLUTIONS—ARMY MOVEMENTS—THE CONFEDERATE SITUATION.

THE proclamation of September, 1862, was designed by President Lincoln as the precursor of the proclamation of emancipation dated to begin with the year 1863. "Mr. Lincoln was himself opposed to the measure," says Mr. Julian, of Indiana, "and when he very reluctantly issued the preliminary proclamation in September, 1862, he wished it distinctly understood that the deportation of the slaves was in his mind inseparably connected with the policy." His doubts as to his right to emancipate embarrassed him, and his fears as to the change of the war policy from "saving the Union" to freeing the negro, delayed his action. The humane view of the question was not the most vivid. Political considerations alone brought on the determination to place the war "on a clearly defined anti-slavery basis."

Even then the philanthropic impulse which (if unhindered by selfish interests) might have controlled all parties, exerted no influence which can entitle the emancipation proclamation of January 1, 1863, to veneration as one of the magna documenta of human freedom. It was not, as it should have been, a courageous declaration that every negro had the right, if any had, to be set

free on fair terms, and that therefore the government which had caused his enslavement must rescue him from that condition. There was no frank concession that capital had been lured by the nation into a vast investment in slave labor which was entitled to protection, notwithstanding secession had resulted from the fear of its destruction. The tremendous reform was in fact preceded by frantic declarations that the purpose of the war was not to raise the negro to the common brotherhood of "equality before the law" nor to condone the mutual error of slavery by satisfying all just demands which emancipation exacted. It was even trifled with by the authorized statement of the head of the nation to Greeley, August 22, 1862, one week before the preliminary proclamation, as follows: "If I could save the Union without freeing any slaves, I would do it. If I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would do it." The President's devotion to the view he entertained of the Union, and which he afterward expressed in his memorable short speech during the dedication of the national cemetery at Gettysburg, is well worthy of profoundest national respect, but he was not the emancipator of the negro race.

The proclamation only went so far as to serve a military purpose. It simply called a reserved instrument of war into a field of operations where the battles of two years, with the customary array of resources, still left the Union armies defending Washington. With flagrant denial of the right of every negro in the slaveholding sections to emancipation if any were set free, the proclamation left slavery untouched in whole districts of the border States. "It did not pretend," says Mr. Julian, of Indiana, "to operate upon the slaves in other large districts in which it would have been effective at once, but studiously excluded them while it applied mainly to States and parts of States within the military occupation

of the enemy (the Southern armies) where it was necessarily void." It proclaimed freedom where it could not operate, and left slavery in States where military power could enforce a decree of emancipation.

The emancipation policy was adopted as a political as well as a military necessity. The humanity of freedom was only an incident of the policy. The pressure of the most active wing of Mr. Lincoln's party had borne upon him with such increasing violence that the President was compelled to explain to the border States, and to his conservative friends, that the proclamation had become "a necessity to prevent the radicals from openly embarrassing the government in the conduct of the war." Governor Andrews, of Massachusetts, had begun earnestly to demand the privilege "to fire on the enemy's magazine," by which he was supposed to mean an explosion throughout the South of negro insurrection. The Massachusetts convention had not voted a resolution of confidence in the administration, and Mr. Chase was writing of Mr. Lincoln's recreancy to the party which had elected him. The "pressure" prevailed and the "war policy" took a new turn.

The general effect at the North of this distinct change of war policy was at first a revolt of the conservatives through which the administration suffered defeats at the fall elections of 1862 in the great States, New York, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. Uneasiness pervaded the popular mind and the soldiery were disturbed by this new reason for the sacrifice of their lives. Europe also became "cold and menacing." Lord Lyons dispatched to his government that the President "had thrown himself into the arms of the radicals." Yet the measure compacted about the President a body of men who rallied from the temporary disasters which followed the adoption of their policy and gave him a support which at length drew to their line almost the entire population of the Northern States.

The Southern people read the proclamation as evidence that the radical measures which had been long threatened would now be attempted as far as they could be made effective by military force. The conservatives in the Border States were astounded, and now realized the situation into which they had come by the drift of events. The slaves, however, did not rise in arms nor organize the exodus that had been predicted, but they pursued the plow in peace, and protected the homes where they had been reared. One ardent advocate who was helping to make the pressure on Mr. Lincoln effective, had written of the negroes that "one universal hallelujah of glory to God, echoed from every valley and hilltop of rebellion, would sound the speedy doom of treason." But while the hallelujahs of this class of Southern population were certainly heard, they were such as had been sounding for a century at the camp-meetings and corn shuckings. Where the Federal armies spread over the plantations there was indeed such a considerable flocking of the slaves into the Federal camps, that the increasing numbers of all ages more than supplied the demand for camp labor and created open complaint against the colored camp followers.

Southern resentment of the emancipation policy was not aroused so much by the attempt to proclaim a freedom which could not, as confessed by jurists, be thus conferred, as it was by the declaration of the intention to reinforce the armies of the United States with regiments of negroes. The use of this means to bring the South to terms had begun to be vehemently urged early in 1862. Mr. Stevens, of Pennsylvania, the leader of the "war power" wing, had openly advocated at the outset of the war "the arming of the negroes who were the slaves of the rebels," and at this date declared in Congress that "it is the only way left on earth in which these rebels can be exterminated." The United States Congress very rapidly moved up to this advanced line and adopted

measures for the enrollment of one hundred and fifty thousand negro soldiers to suppress the rebellion. But this mortifying concession that the Union armies were unable to end the war, and that the Southern slaves must now save the Union, was not reached in legislation without the earnest and indignant protests of Northern statesmen. Mr. Cox, of Ohio, Mr. Thomas, of Massachusetts, Mr. Richardson, of Illinois, and many others, joined the representatives from the Border States in resistance to this radical and dangerous change in the objects of coercion. During the debate on the general conscription bill pending an amendment offered by Mr. Cox, of Ohio, "That no one shall be enrolled under this act except able bodied white male citizens of the United States," Mr. Mallory, of Kentucky, said, "Why is this measure called for at this time? The answer is one which is very galling to the pride of the administration and its supporters. It is a complete confession of incompetency to manage the stupendous war in which it finds itself involved—a most humiliating and reluctant acknowledgment that its measures have been mistakes—its policy a blunder." But notwithstanding these protests the measure was adopted and enrollment soon began, influenced somewhat by a strong reason in favor of the enrolling of negroes in Federal regiments which was given by an influential Northern man in the following language: "The approach of a draft which would fall heavily upon the workshops, manufactures, and farmers of the North, already depleted of their operatives to such an extent as to greatly enhance the price of skilled labor, led to the conviction on the part of the great body of the people of the North that these thews and sinews (i. e. negro men) thus at their command, and for the most part ready and willing for their service, might as well be employed as their own, so far as they would go toward filling up the ranks of the armies east and west."

In January, 1863, Governor Andrews, of Massachusetts,

was authorized to raise regiments of negroes. In March, George L. Thomas, adjutant-general, was sent West to organize the colored fugitives into military commands. General Prentiss formed two regiments at Helena; General Thomas five at Milliken Bend, three at Grand Gulf, and before leaving the West in June organized twenty more. General Banks chose to call the colored body which he also organized, the *Corps d'Afrique*. Over 15,000 were quickly mustered in the Gulf department, to which adding the regiments raised in South Carolina, North Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland, the total soon reached 50,000 men. This was conceived to be a very appreciable relief from the burden of the impending draft, and an important accession to the necessary military strength of the Federal armies. It was found necessary very soon to put these negroes, who were enlisted to do only post and garrison duty, into the forefront of battle, even "in several instances in the lead in assaulting columns,"—as at Port Hudson and Fort Wagner, on which occasions their white commanders bear testimony to the efficiency with which they fought. The negroes are entitled to the credit of vindicating the statement as to a military necessity for their enrollment to enable the Federal armies to match the Confederate.

No danger from servile insurrections was seriously apprehended even in the sections most densely occupied by the negroes, but there were well-grounded fears of outrages that could be perpetrated by negroes collected at random, armed, undisciplined, and officered by white men of vindictive mood and avaricious mind. Southern people saw in this use of the negroes as soldiers the willingness of the extremists to make a war of havoc, resulting in the extermination of white and black alike; —into which lurid aspect of the question they were led by speeches in Congress, the tone of the press, and the recommendations of prominent army officers. In addition to these fears there was the powerful Southern

repugnance, which the administration at Washington disregarded, to an armed conflict between the two races. To the influences of these fears, and of resentment to the indignity thus offered, must be credited the first outbursts through the South, while the subsequent conservative action of the Confederate authorities will commend the wisdom with which the "new policy" was treated. When the Confederate Congress assembled, President Davis called attention in his message of January 12, 1863, to the emancipation proclamation as a war measure which encouraged a servile population to a course of action which would doom them to extermination. In its political aspect the Confederate President regarded the proclamation as a justification of the earliest fears felt by the South on the ascendency into power of the new sectional power, and that it created an insurmountable barrier to the reconstruction of the Union. "So far as regards the action of this government on such criminals as may attempt its execution," the message proposed to deliver to State authorities all commissioned officers of the United States captured thereafter in any of the States embraced in the proclamation that they may be dealt with in accordance with the laws of those States providing for the punishment of criminals engaged in inciting servile insurrection, but enlisted soldiers were to be discharged on parole according to the customs of war. The President thus treated the new measure as an attempt to excite insurrection of slaves, which was contrary to the penal statutes of the Southern States, and proposed to leave the offenders to the action of the State courts. Congress having already the exciting question under consideration, adopted the course which has been mentioned.

Amidst these civil proceedings in the beginning of 1863 the Confederate armies were considerably strengthened by the operation of the several enrollment acts, although bounties for enlistment had been discontinued,

and no inducement for volunteering was offered except the choice of the company in which the recruit desired to serve. The Federal and Confederate army operations in the West are shown by the army orders and reports in January, 1863, of General Sherman and of General Pemberton. Of the first Federal attempt General Sherman says, "We failed in one great purpose of our movement—the capture of Vicksburg." General Pemberton from headquarters at Vicksburg congratulates his army for "their gallant defense of the important position." These orders and reports refer to the defeat of the strong movement begun November 28, 1862, under Grant, Sherman, McClernand and other skillful Federal commanders to capture the important positions in the West defended by Pemberton, S. D. Lee and Forrest. In the East the Federals had recoiled from their bloody defeat at Fredericksburg, in December, 1862, and with a change of commanders were organizing the next advance on Richmond. The Confederate armies were likewise concentrating all available forces to renew the combat as soon as the Virginia winter surrendered to the spring. Army operations in the West after January 8, 1863, included a variety of engagements, culminating in the disastrous surrender of Vicksburg; while in the East the army of Lee fought the battles of Chancellorsville, and, marching again across the Potomac, lost the battle of Gettysburg. These two events occurred simultaneously the first week in July, 1863, and considered together foretokened the ultimate defeat which the Confederacy at last sustained.

The embarrassments of the Confederacy were not diminished by the successes of 1862, nor by the increase during that and the following year of the Southern military force. The first impression that the war would be short was now changed early in 1863 into a doubt whether it would end in several years. In consequence of the uncertainty of the struggle Confederate finances

which were based necessarily on the success of secession could not be managed so as to avoid the depreciation of the currency. The expenses had increased, the public debt was becoming enormous, and the Confederacy was already moving on without the "sinews of war." There was a vast excess of paper money and yet there seemed no other way to sustain the government. Some financiers proposed the discontinuance instantly of any further issue. Taxation and loans were urged as the only means of reaching a safe financial footing. The issue of bonds with interest payable in coin, the interest to be assured by a lien on a specific part of the revenue, was suggested, and it was also insisted that all outstanding treasury notes and other government securities should be heavily taxed. The secretary of the treasury found it a difficult task to provide a sufficiency of money for the extraordinary demands of the government, and saw with chagrin the Confederate notes depreciate until they became nearly unavailable for the purchase of food and clothing for the army.

In the extremity many expedients were tried. Among them an act was passed during the early part of 1863 by which the government was authorized to seize or to impress produce necessary for the army. The act provided for payment at a price fixed by State commissioners and the impressment officials were forbidden to take supplies which were necessary for family use or on the way to market for immediate sale. But the enforcement of the impressment created excitement and produced discontent. Producers accustomed to sell their products at the market price were not satisfied with the rate fixed by government, and while the majority obeyed the law there were evasions which greatly embarrassed the officers in charge of its execution. Delays and waste, with occasional abuses, hindered the operation of this plan to regulate prices and to sustain the Confederate currency.

The strain of two years on the machinery of railroads

had also worn down the facilities of transportation to such an extent as to make it already difficult to haul troops and supplies with sufficient rapidity and safety. The rate of speed was now reduced to ten miles per hour, and the tonnage lessened nearly fifty per cent. All railroads had become necessarily part of the military organization, so that their condition was to be considered in estimating the efficiency of the military corps. Besides this disadvantage the area of food supply had shrunken one half. At first nearly the entire country south of the Ohio river, and even in some measure beyond, could be relied on for the means of subsistence. But now a large part of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and North Carolina were occupied or raided by Federal commands, and the blockade shut out the world. Unfortunately, also, the wheat crop of 1862 had failed to an unusual extent, so that with insufficient supplies and a deficiency in the means of transportation the Confederates went forward into the year 1863 with many misgivings but not without a hope of achieving the independence for which they ventured on secession.

Congress took up the serious question of supplies early in the session and by resolution requested President Davis to issue an address to the people. The address was accordingly issued April 10, 1863, containing a frank statement of the situation and appealing pathetically "in behalf of the brave soldiers now confronting the enemy, and to whom the government is unable to furnish all the comforts they so richly merit." The address of President Davis was followed at once by similar appeals from the governors of the several States, and by resolutions which were passed at public meetings. The commissary general suffered great anxiety and sought by personal travel throughout the South to secure effective answer to the appeals thus made. The agitation preceding and following these appeals fortunately occurred

during the spring planting season and to it may be attributed the improved food supply for that year.

The accumulation of government cotton had in the beginning of 1863 amounted to about a half a million bales, stored generally in sheds at the distance of five or more miles from any railroad, and the principal agent of the government appointed to purchase cotton issued a circular July 25, 1863, in which he stated the policy of the government to be the same as to private or public cotton, viz.: "Apply to it the torch whenever in imminent and manifest danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, but only in such cases." The advice was most patriotically followed in many cases by the owners themselves.

CHAPTER XIX.

INTENSIFIED HOSTILITY.

MEDIATION ATTEMPTED—FOREIGN AFFAIRS—PEACE SPIRIT—PRISONERS OF WAR—AMNESTY ON CONDITIONS—RECONSTRUCTION ON A WAR BASIS—CLOSE OF 1863.

FRANCE had proposed in 1862 to England and Germany that the three nations whose commerce was being injured most by the Confederate war join in suggesting an armistice between the Federal and Confederate governments with a view of settling their difficulties, and the friendly proposition was declined.

But in November, 1862, after the elections had gone against the Washington administration, the letter from Lord Lyons, British minister, to Earl Russell, disclosed a reopening of the question of foreign mediation. This interesting letter, describing very fully the effect of the victory of the peace party and referring to the dismissal of McClellan by Mr. Lincoln in the midst of these Democratic exultations as a sign that the President had thrown himself entirely into the arms of the extreme radical party, proceeded to discuss the prevailing views of mediation. Many of the conservative leaders who were seeking for means to secure peace feared "that a premature proposal of foreign intervention would afford the radical party a means of reviving the violent war spirit," and that the present moment was peculiarly unfavorable for such an offer. The conservative policy was —an armistice to be proposed by the United States;–a convention of States, also to be proposed by the United States, to reconstruct the Union and to offer amendments

to the Constitution. Lord Lyons wrote his own opinion "that the present moment is not a favorable one for making an offer of mediation. It might embarrass the peace party." "It would," he says, "in all probability be rejected by the President, who appears to have thrown himself into the arms of an extreme radical party." The views of that party, thus mentioned by the British minister, were clear and defined. "They declared that there was no hope of reconciliation with the Southern people, that the war must be pressed per fas et nefas until the disloyal men of the South shall be ruined and subjugated, if not exterminated; that not an inch of the old territory must be given up, and that foreign intervention in any shape must be rejected and resented." Commenting on the war policy, his Lordship remarks, "the political interests of the party now in power render the continuance of the war a necessity for it. Its only chance of regaining its lost popularity lies in successful military operations. Unless it can obtain a much higher place in public estimation than it now occupies, not only will its tenure of power become extremely precarious, but some of its leading members may be called to a severe account for their extra-legal proceedings."

The French secretary for foreign affairs sent a note on the part of his government to the French minister at Washington in January, 1863, restating the desire of France to proffer its offices in restoring peace and regretting the little success which its overtures had gained at Washington. On receiving the note M. Mercier, the French minister, made a special visit to Mr. Seward, to present the dispatch, the reply to which was made in the United States secretary's letter to Mr. Dayton, minister at Paris. Mr. Seward answered the French suggestion that commissioners be appointed by the two peoples at war to meet on neutral ground and adjust their difficulties, by saying that however benevolent the desire of France, the suggestions which it has proposed "amount

to nothing less than a proposition that, while this government is engaged in suppressing an armed insurrection, with the purpose of maintaining the constitutional national authority, and preserving the integrity of the country, it shall enter into diplomatic discussion with the insurgents whether that authority shall not be renounced, and whether the country shall not be delivered over to disunion to be quickly followed by an ever-increasing anarchy." Replying further, Mr. Seward objected to the mode of reconciliation by a board of commissioners, and called attention to the existence of the Congress of the United States as the proper body where all the interests of all States could be debated. The congressional form of conference, and not the commission proposed by France, would be in his opinion in compliance with the Constitution of the United States. The United States Congress immediately discussed the correspondence and passed resolutions to be transmitted to all foreign countries, declaring "every proposition of foreign interference in the present contest as so far unreasonable and inadmissible; that its only explanation will be found in a misunderstanding of the true state of the question and the real character of the war in which the Republic is engaged." Thus a blundering diplomacy conspired with the behests of party policy to cut down the growing hope of national peace.

The relations between the Confederate States and foreign nations had grown more unsatisfactory to the struggling people of the new nation, notwithstanding the several controversies which at times threatened conflict between the United States and Great Britain. The Confederate government and people became convinced that Mr. Yancey correctly stated their case on his return from Europe, in saying that no hope of aid from foreign sources could be entertained until the South had virtually won the battle by its armies.

One apparently serious and early subject of diplomatic

correspondence was caused by the construction at British ship-yards of vessels reported to be designed for the use of the Confederacy. The steamers Alabama and Florida, first floated as harmless trade vessels, had soon appeared in the character of destructive battleships, and the fear was reasonable that an increase of the Confederate navy of that pattern might effectually ruin all commerce by vessels bearing the United States flag. Mr. Adams, the American minister at London, raised the question with Lord Russell during the latter part of 1862, submitting formally to him the views of the United States government on the rights and obligations of neutrals. The reply of Lord Russell sharply reminded Mr. Adams that the Queen's neutrality proclamation of May 13, 1861, had been set at naught by the agents of the United States, who had bought and shipped from British ports to New York, "vast supplies of arms and warlike stores." The Confederacy had likewise procured munitions of war in the same way, but his Lordship writes that "the party which has profited by far the most by these unjustifiable practices has been the government of the United States." After which rebuke the British earl formally stated the history of the "Alabama's" construction under the name of "290" and denied all liability for its operations on the high seas. Further correspondence contained the declaration of Lord Russell that "it is notorious that large bounties have been offered and given to British subjects residing in the United States to engage in the war on the Federal side." The settlement of the "Alabama" question was postponed, and the subsequent actions of the British government do not appear to have given any considerable irritation to the United States.

The Confederacy had been disappointed also by the action of the French government, whose emperor had at first openly adopted the current opinion of European statesmen that secession would become successful. This early prejudgment caused the United States to make

unceasing efforts to thwart any combination of European powers in the least degree favorable to the Confederate movement. France, more conspicuously than any other power, had also intimated the desire for foreign intervention as the means to bring the American war to a speedy close. Upon this view of the emperor, and the certainty that foreign intervention would result in the partition of the United States, the Confederate authorities indulged for two years the dream of independence, while the fear of that result caused Mr. Seward to express his views in amiable phrase like this: "We wish to avoid anything calculated to irritate France, or to wound the just pride and proper sensibilities of that spirited nation, and thus to free our claim to her forbearance in our present political emergency from any cloud of passion or prejudice. Pursuing this course the President hopes that the prejudgment of the emperor against the stability of the Union may the sooner give way to convictions which will modify his course." Other countries had exerted no influence favorable to the Confederacy, and the impression prevailed, especially after the battles of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, that no positive step would be taken toward interference in the American strife unless some decided and well-sustained advantage should be gained by the Confederacy.

But amidst all the heartless movements of diplomacy, amidst all the violences of war—the tread of troops, the beat of drum, the roar of deadly guns, the outcry of assault and defense, the groaning of dying soldiers and the moans of the bereaved at home—amidst all those there was not a day during the horrible conflict when there was not heard the voice of the angels of reason and humanity calling for peace. Both nations had officially declared the desire for peace from first to last, and both nations maintained war from beginning to end; but the main question was constantly and unhappily restricted to the terms of peace and on conditions which involved scarcely

more than the fate of political parties. The peace feeling after nearly three years of fighting was still repressed into impotency by the same spirit which had at first "let loose the dogs of war." Two samples of the maneuvering which meant no more than those plays with pawns designed to draw out more potent pieces, are here given to show that the "son of peace" did not rule over the American house.

President Lincoln had made proclamation calling on the people to give thanks to God for recent victories, reciting the advantages belonging to a united country, whereupon Mr. Wood, of New York, offered a resolution in Congress that "Whereas, in view of these triumphs it is no longer beneath our dignity, nor dangerous to our safety to evince a generous magnanimity becoming a great and powerful people, by offering to the insurgents an opportunity to return to the Union without imposing upon them degrading and destructive conditions; therefore, resolved, that the President be requested to appoint three commissioners who shall be empowered to open negotiations with the authorities at Richmond to the end that this bloody, destructive and inhuman war shall cease, and the Union be restored upon terms of equity, fraternity and equality under the Constitution." The resolution was laid on the table by a party vote of 98 yeas and 59 nays. On the same day Mr. Green Clay Smith offered resolutions that "believing as we do that the only hope of saving this country and preserving this government is by the power of the sword, we oppose any armistice, or intervention, or mediation, or proposition for peace from any quarter so long as there shall be found a rebel in arms against the government," and this resolution was agreed to by a similar vote of 96 yeas against 65 nays. Mr. Rogers offered resolutions declaring that the States in rebellion have the right to reorganize their State governments, to elect representatives in Congress and to be represented in the Union with all the rights of

the people of the several States, without any condition precedent except liability to be punished according to the laws; Mr. Dawson, of Pennsylvania, proposed that the President make a proclamation that hostilities cease against any State whenever it shall submit to the authority of the Federal government; and Mr. Long, of Ohio, afterward pushed these proffers of peace by a resolution, earnestly and respectfully requesting the President to appoint Franklin Pierce, Millard Fillmore, and Thomas Ewing, and such others as he may select to meet a like commission from the Confederate States "for the purpose of ascertaining before the renewal of hostilities shall have again commenced whether the war shall not now cease, and the Union be restored." These laudable efforts to bring together in amity the wearied contestants were made during a long lull of active war produced by the snows and sleets of winter, but they all fell one by one beneath the relentless axe of this same party vote.

On the other side we find a manifestation of Confederate feeling in the consideration during the year 1863 of "peace resolutions" by the legislatures of the States and the press of the South, as well as in the public addresses of common statesmen. Mr. Stephens, the Vice-President, whose course indicates throughout an earnest desire on his part to be an agent in the pacification of the country and even in the restoration of the Union, began to say at this period that "the only terms on which we can obtain permanent peace are final and complete separation from the North." Mr. Herschel V. Johnson, who was the running mate of Mr. Douglas in 1860, said to the Georgia legislature, "There is no step backward, we cannot yield if we would." The feeling grew to be general that neither aid from foreign nations nor the fraternal efforts of the peace party in the Northern States could be relied on, but that physical force alone, or some possible accident, must determine the great issue. Later on, how-

ever, peace efforts were renewed (as we shall see), and with the same disappointing result.

The position assumed by the Federal administration in the beginning of the conflict of the armies in 1860 that the struggle was not public war, but was only an insurrection, involved it in a series of perplexities. Among these the proper treatment of persons captured with arms in their hands was a question of great difficulty unless the admission of public war was allowed. Upon the insurrection theory it was broadly said in Washington that those who were captured should be tried as traitors and suffer the penalties prescribed against rebels, and unfortunately it was at first feared that any concession of belligerent rights made by the United States would encourage European nations to go further and recognize the Confederate States government. The weakness of President Buchanan in attempting to counterpoise secession and coercion as coequally wrong, was followed by the double dealing of Seward in the peace negotiations, and then after battle had begun the most momentous interests were made to turn on political phrases which were carefully employed. Thus, Confederate privateering was officially called piracy, notwithstanding the protest of every court in Europe, and the first crews captured were ironed as felons. From this first false position the administration was compelled to retreat. In pursuance of this mistaken policy the Southern soldiers first captured in battle were denied exchange as such because of the same fear that the exchange of prisoners according to the usages of war might in some way be regarded as a concession that public war existed. The cruel course produced hardships which brave men suffered, and embarrassed military officers who preferred to wage war in due form. Humanity required the evasion of this political policy, and under its inspiration swaps were made by commanders on the field instead of exchanges, which the common law of all great wars requires. After many

months of this trivial by-play, during which the Confederate authorities constantly sought to place the struggle fully within the control of the usages in public war, negotiations concerning prisoners were allowed, which resulted in an arrangement for general exchange, by which large numbers of soldiers were released and returned to the field. The wise arrangement, however, was disturbed by various insufficient causes, and even broken off entirely by the United States authorities until the unpopularity of the suspension brought about the formal cartel of July 22, 1862, through which exchanges were once again for a time resumed. Certain orders of General Pope, then commanding in Virginia, in which citizens were threatened with arrest as spies and held as hostages against "bush-whackers" and the case of Mumford at New Orleans, executed by order of General Butler, provoked retaliatory orders by President Davis, to which President Lincoln responded with orders of a similar nature, all of which, with other difficulties in the execution of the cartel, induced President Davis to send the Vice-President of the Confederacy, Mr. Stephens, to seek an adjustment of these difficulties by a personal interview with the President of the United States.

The letter of instructions given to Mr. Stephens by President Davis stated: "You will perceive from the terms of the letter that it is so worded as to avoid any political difficulties in its reception. Intended as one of those communications between belligerents which public law recognizes as necessary and proper between hostile forces, care has been taken to afford no pretext for refusing to receive it on the ground that it would involve a tacit recognition of the independence of the Confederacy. Your mission is simply one of humanity and has no political aspect." The distinguished commissioner was authorized to negotiate fully in settlement of all the difficulties of exchange of prisoners and to make any arrangements that would place the mode of warfare on a humane

basis. Going with this authority Mr. Stephens reached Newport News, and there asked permission to proceed to Washington, but upon the reference of his mission to the authorities at the Federal capital the reply was returned: "The request is inadmissible. The customary agents and channels are adequate for all needful military communications and conferences between the United States forces and the insurgents." Thus at the moment when Lee had been repulsed at Gettysburg and was now recrossing the Potomac a mere technical objection was again raised and an opportunity for an important conference between Mr. Stephens and Mr. Lincoln was thrust aside. Contemporaneous, too, with this mission of the Vice-President new orders were issued from Washington relating to the cartel, and a new section was added to former general orders which produced still further embarrassments.

The disposition of negroes captured in battle still further disturbed the regular process of exchange, there being on the side of the Confederates an outstanding menace, which was met on the side of the Federals by the firm declaration that "the law of nations and the usages and customs of war as carried on by civilized powers permit no distinction as to color in the treatment of prisoners of war as public enemies." In this singular course of the questions involved in the treatment of white prisoners of the same country it came to pass that the condition of the negro brought about the concession by the North at last, which should have been made at the outset of the struggle, and produced an appeal to the laws of public war which the South had made in vain. A record of that year recites that "not a single instance has occurred of a negro soldier or a commissioned officer of a negro regiment being exchanged or recognized as a prisoner of war. On the other hand no instance has come to light of the execution by the Confederate authorities of the death penalty upon prisoners of this class.

In October, 1863, the number of Confederate prisoners in possession of the Federal government amounted to about 40,000 men. The Federals in the Confederate hands were only 13,000. This excess had been gained by the battles since the spring of the year and became a reason urged by General Hitchcock why he would not accept Mr. Ould's proposition in October "that all officers and men on both sides be released in conformity with the provisions of the cartel, the excess on the one side or the other to be on parole." This proposition of Mr. Ould to relieve the prisons of their burden in the beginning of winter and to release nearly sixty thousand sufferers by exchange or on parole found great favor in many parts of the North. Pressure for its acceptance was made in earnest by the North, but the reply was final that the effect would be to release 27,000 more Confederates than Federal soldiers from the restraints of prison life. From this date general exchange was discontinued, although certain special deliveries were effected. General Butler by his own request was appointed agent of exchanges at Fortress Monroe in December, thus closing the year 1863 with a total cessation of an arrangement which was indispensable as means to mitigate the horrors of war.

An amnesty proclamation was issued by President Lincoln December 8, 1863, as a part of the scheme adopted at Washington for reconstruction of the States. The proclamation offered Federal protection to such State governments as should be set up according to the mode prescribed by the general government and to them only. The President frankly gave as a reason "why this benefit was tendered only to State governments set up in this particular way" that otherwise the majorities in the States sought to be reconstructed were averse to the "particular way" proposed. The part of the proclamation tendering the pardon to individuals prescribed an oath required to be taken and registered to support the Constitution, all acts of Congress, and all proclamations

of the President having reference to slaves. Pardon was given to all persons on taking this oath except civil or diplomatic agents, judges, congressmen, military officers above the rank of colonel in the army or lieutenant in the navy, officers who had resigned from the United States army to enter Confederate service, and all persons who had treated captured colored soldiers otherwise than as prisoners of war.

The plan of reconstruction proposed in connection with the proffered amnesty provided that whenever in any seceded State a number of voters not less than one-tenth in number of the votes cast in such State in the presidential election of 1860 have taken the amnesty oath and re-established a State government, which accords with the terms of the oath, the State so re-constructed shall be reorganized and protected. The purpose made evident by this empowering of one-tenth of the voters to construct State governments according to a plan by which even the one-tenth were bound by oath made reconstruction more objectionable to the South than it was before the proclamation of amnesty. The iron-clad oath, the proscription of so large a class, and the commission of State government to a tenth only of the voters of a State, all of whom were put in one class by the required oath, gave the Confederates no encouragements to trust the restoration of the old constitutional relations of the States. The plan, however, was put into operation in such States as could be brought in part or entirely under military control.

CHAPTER XX.

THE INHUMANITIES OF WAR.

EXCHANGES—PRISONS AND PRISONERS—ANDERSONVILLE IN THE SOUTH—ELMIRA, JOHNSON ISLAND AND FORT DELAWARE IN THE NORTH—CONFEDERATE GOVERNMENT NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR DIFFICULTIES OF EXCHANGE.

THERE were two obstacles to exchange of prisoners from the outset of the war, one of which was theoretical, and is noticed by Hon. S. S. Cox in his "Three Decades of Federal Legislation." It was the theory that the fighting which was going on was not public war, but only an insurrection. Dilemmas occurred almost daily in the career of this theory, out of which the only extrication was to affirm the singular doctrine that the United States had the privilege of saying when the fighting was public war and when it was only insurrection. The facility with which statesmen accommodated principles to conditions in those dreadful days of peril to life and liberty, now astounds sober reason. The other obstacle was that practical one, appearing later in the struggle, which General Grant presented from the military standpoint in opposition to exchange of prisoners near the opening of the spring campaign of 1864, in these words: "I did not deem it advisable or just to the men who had to fight our battles to reinforce the enemy with thirty or forty thousand disciplined troops at that time."

Grant's view was practical military cruelty, while the theoretical idea was the product of the combined genius for extricative expedients for which Mr. Seward and Mr. Stanton had no equals. Mr. Cox punctured the theory at the outset in 1861 when Mr. Lincoln applied it to the case

of the seamen of the "Savannah," who had been tried and convicted as pirates, but whose peril was retaliated by the Confederate threat to hang certain Federal officers if these seamen were hung. Mr. Cox argued the cause of the limited exchange before the President until he cried out: "Ah, there it is—you would have me recognize these pirates as belligerents. Remember that to fight on land is one thing, but on an unstable element like the sea where men are isolated and helpless, it is another." Mr. Cox says he considered the answer as having in it no element of humanity or international law, and replied, "Where is the difference, in intent or conduct? Does the difference consist in one shot being fired on the land and the other on the sea?" There was of course no reasonableness in the position assumed by the administration and it was compelled to yield. Seward ordered the special exchange of the prisoners and Mr. Cox afterward pressed to passage his resolutions at the second session of the Thirty-seventh Congress for general exchange.

It is clear that the interest of the Confederacy was on the side of quick exchanges of prisoners and equally so that it was ready to make them for humane reasons. Difficulties were presented alone by the Federal view of the conflict which Confederate determination overcame or obviated from time to time. The care of Federal prisoners was a burden to the Confederacy since it was found to be easier to fight than to feed them. Hence all concessions were made for the sake of exchange, man for man, until at length the peremptory cessation of compliance with the cartel of 1862 forced the construction by both sides of prison dens. Elmira prison, Johnson's island prison, Fort Delaware prison, with all their somber annals were the inevitable results of the cessation of regular exchanges. And so was Andersonville on the Southern side. Andersonville prison in Georgia, Elmira prison and Johnson's island, Fort Delaware and the

prison ships were the inevitable results of the cessation of the exchanges of prisoners usual in wars. It became plain to the Confederate government in January, 1864, that it would be compelled to guard and support for an indefinitely prolonged time the increasing numbers of prisoners taken by its armies in battle, and in view of its diminishing resources, as well as its inability to certainly hold any positions securely, except such as were within the most central part of the South, at a distance from the Federal fleets and armies, the situation was embarrassing.

After careful consideration the principal site selected for the construction of a prison was in the upper central part of south Georgia, in precisely the region chosen more than thirty years after as a suitable location for a large colony of pensioned Union soldiers and their families and friends emigrating chiefly from the West. The new city of Fitzgerald, said to contain in 1897 several thousand Northern colonists, was built in the section where the Andersonville prison was constructed. This location was chosen as a prison site on account of its salubrity, mild winter climate, the nearness to saw mills and grist mills, the large area of food-producing country in southwest Georgia, and certainly also because it was little exposed to raiding forces such as threatened the Libby prison at Richmond. In constructing this prison an enclosure of thirty acres in shape of a parallelogram surrounded two hills, and a box canal was built through which a bold stream of clear, pure water was made to flow with conveniences for bathing, the lowest outlet being arranged for proper police purposes. "Several bold springs of pure water emerged from the north bank of the stream and numerous wells of pure water were made inside the prison." The camp was laid off by streets, and sheds were constructed for protection against rain and cold. It does not appear that there was any neglect of precautions against disease, or any failure of effort to render the unavoidable horrors of prison life bearable.

A competent authority declares, "if it had not been that the fortunes of war crowded the prisoners to this spot, producing the direful effects of an unforeseen pestilence, a better selection could not have been made in this part of the South for the health and comfort of the captives." It will be considered that no mountainous section of the South, nor any portion of its sea-coast was at this time so securely in the possession of the Confederates as to justify the location in such sections. The Confederates were compelled to go into the interior for the site of their prison under so many disadvantages that the exchange man for man as was proposed would have been greatly in their interest. The rations were chiefly cooked in the bakery outside the walls, and issued regularly once a day, all faring alike,—the Confederate troops on duty and the prisoners receiving the same rations. The hospital, like all the structures, was a rude inclosure of five acres, well shaded and watered, and furnished with tents, and it would have been ample in ordinary circumstances, but was suddenly made insufficient by great outbreaks of diseases of the bowels. Every comfort, however, was provided for the sick and wounded that could be obtained within the limited means of the Confederate government. The greatest difficulty was experienced in procuring medicines and anti-scorbutics, which were inhumanly made contraband of war by an order of the Federal government, and the most rigid discipline failed to make the prisoners pay that attention to cleanliness which was absolutely necessary. Even the guards on duty and several Confederate officers were attacked by the diseases of the camp.

It will be noted that the selection of this prison was made in the beginning of 1864, after the fatal decision of the Federal administration against exchanges, and that with all the hurried efforts of the Confederates the place was scarcely ready when on the first of March a body of 850 unfortunate foreigners were necessarily sent from cap-

tured New England regiments whom the Confederate government would have gladly released by exchange. Very soon thereafter the prisoners taken from Sherman by the Confederate army under General Johnston began to come in, with many from other sources, until in May the prison was crowded. The advance of Grant on Richmond also made it necessary to empty Libby prison on the States farther south instead of sending them as President Davis earnestly desired into their own lines in exchange for Confederate equivalents. The removal of this body required transportation, guards and rations which were very greatly needed by General Lee, and their "equivalents" from Johnson's Island or other Northern prisons would have given the Confederate commander several more divisions of gallant soldiers. Whatever else is doubtful about the prison question it is well ascertained that the Confederate President craved his imprisoned legions while his antagonist thought it "better to feed them than to fight them."

The total number of prisoners in this prison of 1864 appears to have been increased about as follows: In April, 10,000; May, 18,000; June, 26,000; July, 31,000; August, 31,000. After this date the number was suddenly decreased to 8,000 in September, and to 4,000 in October, by the removal of all the prisoners except invalids and nurses to Millen in the eastern part of Georgia. This change was made in consequence partly of the advice of General Winder, and also because of a threatened raid from Sherman's army then at Atlanta. The deaths during five months from March 1st to August 1st, were only 4,485, about ten per cent. But on the occurring of a pestilence in the form of dysentery, scurvy and gangrene, the deaths increased greatly during the months of August, September and October. In consequence of the dangerous nature of the diseases appearing in the camp the Confederate government directed the above stated removal of at least 20,000 prisoners to other points

remote from Andersonville as soon as barrack accommodations could be built and supplies collected. The removal was effected as rapidly as possible and by the last of September all were gone except such as were in the hospitals unable to travel. It thus appears that Andersonville was used as a main prison not more than six months, during the first four of which the percentage of mortality did not reach the average rate at which Confederate prisoners died in Northern hands, and that as soon as possible the prisoners were removed. The medical corps detailed to remain with the great body of the infected, struggled with the desperate disease with all odds against them. The camp being relieved of all except about 5,000 invalids and nurses, besides laborers and a small guard, the surgeons were enabled to improve the general sanitary conditions and to erect new and large hospital sheds. Confederate surgeons "remained by their dying patients when even their own countrymen had deserted them," some dying at their posts, and all evincing a devotion to professional duty and humanity which merits the linking of Andersonville prison and the heroic charity of their profession together. But with all their care the progress of death was terrible for two months. In fact, "at one time it had been thought by the medical officers that nearly all the infected would die, but by the use of vegetables in such quantities as could be procured and an acid beer made from cornmeal and sorghum molasses, the death rate fell from about 3,000 in August to 160 in December."

In the beginning of these horrors the Confederate government renewed the efforts for exchange of prisoners for at least the one good reason that the captives on their hands were an immense disadvantage. Supposing that the South had no humane feelings toward Northern captives and cared nothing for the appeals of its own brave soldiers suffering at Elmira, Johnson's Island and elsewhere, it will still appear that there were military

and civic reasons for the humane efforts so zealously put forth to relieve the brave men held in such prolonged and fatal bondage. This fact is sufficient answer to all statements that the South obstructed exchanges, just as a New England audience was once convinced that Southern planters did not use negroes in place of mules at the plow, since the negro had a money value of $1,500 and mules could be bought for $150.

Senator Hill, of Georgia, in his crushing, unanswered reply to Senator Blaine in the House of Representatives January 11, 1876, collates the efforts to facilitate exchanges, and coming to this period of horrors, says: "Then again in August, 1864, the Confederates made two more propositions. I will state that the cartel of exchange was broken by the Federal authorities for certain alleged reasons. Well, in August, 1864, prisoners accumulating on both sides to such an extent, and the Federal government having refused to provide for the comfort and treatment of these prisoners, the Confederates next proposed, in a letter from Colonel Ould dated the 10th of August, 1864, waiving every objection the Federal government had made, to agree to any and all terms to renew the exchange of prisoners, man for man and officer for officer, as the Federal government should prescribe. Yet, sir, the latter rejected that proposition. It took a second letter to bring an answer to that proposition. Then again in that same month of August, 1864, the Confederate authorities did this: Finding that the Federal government would not exchange prisoners at all, that it would not let surgeons go into the Confederacy, finding that it would not let medicines be sent into the Confederacy, meanwhile the ravages of war continuing and depleting the scant supplies of the South, which was already unable to feed adequately its own defenders, and much less able to properly feed and clothe the thousands of prisoners in Confederate prisons—what did the Confederates propose? They proposed to send home the

Federal sick and wounded prisoners without equivalent. Now, sir, I want the house and the country to understand this: That in August, 1864, the Confederate government officially proposed to Federal authorities that if they would send steamships or transportation in any form to Savannah, they should have their sick and wounded prisoners without equivalent. That proposition communicated to the Federal authorities in August, 1864, was not answered until December, 1864. In December, 1864, the Federal government sent ships to Savannah. Now the record will show that the chief suffering at Andersonville was between August and December. The Confederate government sought to avert it by asking the Federal government to come and take its prisoners without equivalent—without return, and it refused to do that until four or five months had elapsed."

The efforts of the Confederate government to have the imprisoned soldiers of both armies released were strenuously supported by their friends at home and by the appeals of the prisoners themselves. The Richmond government was beset with communications from citizens inclosing distressing accounts of the treatment to which Confederate prisoners were subjected in Northern prisons, and violent censures of Mr. Davis became common because he did not enforce better treatment on Confederate soldiers in these Northern prisons by retaliation, since he was unable to effect the customary exchanges. In the same way the administration at Washington was besieged by the friends of Federal prisoners, and by appeals from prisoners themselves, urging that no party or military considerations should doom the Union troops to the continued horrors of prison life. The pressure grew as the summer came on and the numbers of these unfortunate heroes of both armies had increased until it became necessary for the Washington administration to give a reason for the refusal of these powerful appeals. The reason was given by the military chieftain, but a

better should have been discovered and announced by the civil authority at Washington. General Grant was compelled to assume the responsibility and having no other ground to stand upon he placed the denial of all these appeals upon "military necessity." The same plea of military necessity having been used to excuse all the early measures which the conservative statesman at Washington had opposed, was now employed to defend a policy which according to Junius Henri Browne, a Northern gentleman, cost the Republic at least twelve or fifteen thousand heroic lives. He might have added the same number of equally heroic Confederates, and given 30,000 as the total life-loss by the cruelties of "military necessity." The reason given by General Grant was sound enough from the ferocious military idea that "war must be made terrible," and his justification rests upon his obligations as the lieutenant-general commanding all the armies of the Union to destroy the Confederate forces as quickly as possible. Influenced by this view of war General Grant sent a dispatch to General Butler August 18, 1864, in the midst of the Andersonville horrors, containing these words: "It is hard on our men held in Southern prisons not to exchange them, but it is humanity to those left in the ranks to fight our battles. Every man released on parole or otherwise becomes an active soldier against us at once, either directly or indirectly. If we commence a system of exchange which liberates all prisoners taken, we will have to fight on until the whole South is exterminated. If we hold those caught, they amount to no more than dead men. At this particular time to release all rebel prisoners north would insure Sherman's defeat and would compromise our safety here." This remarkable confession was made with thorough knowledge of the vast resources of the United States.

But General Grant did not assume this responsibility without the previous sanction of the civil government.

The policy had been fixed at Washington, and the cabinet secret was divulged in a speech by General Butler at Lowell, Massachusetts, August, 1865, in which he informed the public that this continued imprisonment of Union as well as Confederate soldiers was the policy of Mr. Stanton, the secretary of war. In the speech he "stated positively that he had been ordered by Mr. Stanton to put forward the negro question to complicate and prevent exchanges," and he boastfully declared at another time that he had discharged this task so offensively as to produce the required result, thus justifying the charge made by other Northern men that the miseries and deaths of these Union soldiers were "due alone to Edwin M. Stanton's peculiar policy and dogged obstinacy." In addition also to Grant's military reasons for desiring that no prisoners of war should be exchanged, there is given by General Butler in his official report to the committee on the conduct of the war a very remarkable personal objection to exchange, as follows: "In case the Confederate authorities should yield to the argument, and formally notify me that their former slaves captured in our uniform would be exchanged as other soldiers were, and that they were ready to return us all our prisoners at Andersonville and elsewhere in exchange for theirs, then I had determined with the consent of the Lieutenant General (Grant), as a last resort to prevent exchange, to demand that the outlawry against me should be formally reversed and apologized for before I would further negotiate the exchange of prisoners." General Butler coolly excuses himself in the same reports for complicity in the schemes of cruelty, by the statement "that those lives were spent as a part of the attack upon the rebellion devised by the wisdom of the general-in-chief of the armies to destroy it by depletion, depending on our superior numbers to win the victory at last." The battle for the Union was accordingly transferred in 1864 from the soldiers in the field to the sufferers in the prisons.

Victory was to be won over the South by the confinement of fighting men in prisons, although they should die there like sheep in the shambles.

A statement of Colonel Ould, agent of exchange, was made and published in 1868, verifying the facts concerning the questions relating to prisoners between the two governments and his testimony remains unimpeached. He says that the first cartel of exchange, which bears date July 22, 1862, was designed to secure the delivery of all prisoners of war, the fourth article providing that all prisoners of war should be discharged on parole in ten days after their capture. From this date until the summer of 1863 the Confederacy held the excess of prisoners, and during that interval of about a year the Confederate authorities made prompt deliveries of all prisoners except the few held under charges. On the other hand, during the same time the cartel was notoriously violated by the Federal authorities on various pretexts. In the summer of 1863, the Federal authorities insisted on limiting exchanges to such prisoners as had been placed in confinement, which was in violation of the cartel, and was proposed after the excess of prisoners had changed to the Federal side. The new proposition nullified that part of the cartel which required the discharge on parole or delivery of prisoners within ten days after capture. The cartel was thus for a time interrupted, but in August, 1864, the Confederate government, moved by the sufferings of prisoners, abated their demand for the delivery of the excess on parole according to the cartel, and formally consented to exchange officer for officer and man for man. The official note to General Mulford, then assistant agent of exchange, containing this consent to the exchange, was unanswered, and after two weeks, the same proposal was forwarded to General Hitchcock, the Federal commissioner of exchange. No answer to either letter was received. General Mulford, on August 31, 1864, informed Ould that he had no communication from

his government on the subject. An offer which would have released within ten days every Northern soldier in the Confederate prisons, but at the same time have left a large number of Southern soldiers in Northern prisons because the excess was then on the Federal side, was not even noticed.

In January, 1864, and even before that date it was feared by the Confederate authorities that prisoners of war on both sides would be held in captivity without the benefits of exchange. Colonel Ould, the Confederate agent of exchange, therefore wrote, January 24, 1864, officially to General Hitchcock, the Federal agent of exchange, a formal proposal to have surgeons appointed by both governments to take charge in the prisons of the health and comfort of the prisoners. The surgeons were also to act as commissaries with power to receive and distribute money, food, clothing and medicines. But even this very humane offer was not answered, although its acceptance would have alleviated the sufferings and saved the lives of thousands of brave men. In the summer of 1864, Colonel Ould was instructed by Mr. Davis to offer to deliver all sick and wounded prisoners without any exchange whatever, and accordingly he did offer to send ten or fifteen thousand to the mouth of the Savannah river without requiring any equivalents, but the acceptance of this noble proposal was delayed for months. Finally, about the last of the year, vessels were sent to receive this free offering, and Ould turned over as many as could be transported—some thirteen thousand—among whom were over five thousand well men. In return the Federal agent sent in at the mouth of the Savannah river about 3,000 sick and wounded Confederates from Northern prisons.

During this same summer the deficiency in medical supplies became so embarrassing that the Confederate administration offered to buy from the United States, payable in gold, cotton or tobacco, these needed medi-

cines, stipulating that they might be brought into the Confederate lines by United States surgeons and dispensed by them solely for the benefit of Union prisoners. To this offer there was no reply. In the meantime the blockade was effective and medicines were contraband.

Colonel Ould declares concerning Colonel Mulford that "while he discharged his duties with great fidelity to his own government he was kind and tender to Confederate prisoners—an honorable and truthful gentleman to whom he could appeal for the truth of statements with which he was familiar," and other corroborations of Ould's testimony are to be found in the report of Major General Butler to the committee on the conduct of the war. Ould was subpœnaed to testify in the trial of Wirts and expressed his intention to tell the whole story as to the conduct of the two administrations in the matter of the treatment of prisoners, but his subpœna was revoked by the prosecution. Mr. Stephens, Vice-President of the Confederacy, was conspicuously active from the beginning to the close of the Confederate war in attempts to secure the usual exchanges of prisoners common among civilized nations at war, on which account he was particularly qualified to speak as a credible witness. Condemning the cruel and untenable position of the Federal administration that the crew of the Savannah and all other ships of the Confederate navy were pirates, he expresses the opinion in his work prepared since the war that the desistance of the authorities at Washington from this position was due alone to fear of England, and that the cartel for general exchange afterward agreed to was forced by public sentiment. The policy pursued by the administration at Washington as he viewed its effects, produced the difficulties of exchange, and the consequent intolerable sufferings and deaths in Northern and Southern prisons. The question of exchange was treated by the Federal authorities almost solely as a policy of war, by which captured men

should be made to suffer for their cause in prison whenever such suffering contributed to the crushing of the rebellion. Confederate sentiment unvaryingly required the opening of the prisons by equal exchange and the settlement of the issue by treaty or battle. "I insist," says Mr. Stephens, "upon irrefutable fact that but for the refusal of the Federals to carry out an exchange, none of the wrongs or outrages, and none of the sufferings incident to prison life on either side could have occurred."

There is no purpose in this history to recount the cruelties practiced during the great struggle of the South for independence, and hence no account will be given of the atrocities at Camp Douglas, Rock Island, Elmira, Point Lookout or anywhere perpetrated by Federal subordinates in charge of Confederate prisoners. There were sufferings in all prisons and brutalities perpetrated in this as in other wars, but the proofs furnished by the evidence of General Butler, by the orders of Federal military officers, by the orders and communications of General Grant, and by the reports of Secretary Stanton, all of which are of record, fix the responsibility of this uncivilized mode of war upon the Federal administration. Secretary Stanton's report of July 19, 1866, shows that 26,246 Confederate soldiers died in Northern prisons, and 22,576 Union soldiers died in Southern prisons. Twelve per cent of the Confederate prisoners who fell into Northern captivity died notwithstanding all the facilities for receiving food, clothing, medicines and healthful conditions which the United States unquestionably possessed, while in the absence of these requisites on the part of the Confederacy the astonishing fact appears that less than nine per cent of the Union soldiers in Southern hands died in prisons. It is indisputably established that the Confederate authorities constantly pressed exchanges on equal terms, that they acceded to terms that were unequal for the sake of ex-

change, that they proposed many measures of relief which were denied, that at length the most pitiable and unusual of all spectacles occurred when a deputation of Union soldiers appeared in Washington, sent by Mr. Davis to plead for release by fair exchange, and to plead in vain.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE POLITICS OF 1864 AS A FACTOR IN THE WAR.

ARMIES EAST AND WEST—UNITED STATES CONGRESS—MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN—THE CONFEDERATE STATES CONGRESS—MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT DAVIS—NO SIGN OF YIELDING—ALL MALE CITIZENS IN THE SOUTH ENROLLED—OTHER ACTS OF CONGRESS—POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES—THIRTEENTH AMENDMENT PROPOSED—A PEACE MOVEMENT—WAR PREPARATIONS—CONFEDERATE VICTORIES.

AFTER the battles of Gettysburg and Vicksburg the movements of the armies in various parts of the field brought on a number of conflicts, especially in the West. The main Confederate army had fallen back to Chattanooga and thence to Chickamauga valley, where it was followed by the Federal forces. Upon this ground the battle of Chickamauga was fought September 20th, and a technical victory won by the Confederates. The Federals were forced back to Chattanooga, whence, after two months' delay, they advanced again, and achieving a victory at Missionary Ridge, closed active operations for a time, with the general situation in the entire West decidedly advantageous to the United States. In the East the Federal use of the signal advantages gained by the defeat of Lee at Gettysburg was chiefly for some time in congratulations at the escape Washington had made, and the delivery of Pennsylvania from the "tread of the hostile invader." With a slowness that seems remarkable the Union armies along the Potomac were employed in what has been called "a campaign of strategy," which

permitted Lee to send Longstreet to Chickamauga, and in the last days of November, 1863, produced the abortion of Mine Run.

The United States Congress assembled at this juncture, December 8, 1863, and received the President's congratulations on the favorable aspect of affairs. The message announced that by the complete opening of the Mississippi river the Confederacy was divided into two distinct parts. Tennessee and Arkansas had been cleared of insurgent control; emancipation was accepted in Maryland and missouri; one hundred thousand negro slaves were in the United States military service, and "the annual elections of 1863 are highly encouraging." The President pronounced the period as "the new reckoning—the crisis which threatened to divide the friends of the Union is past." Mr. Lincoln had sufficient grounds for the exultant tone of his message.

The President of the Confederate States addressed the Southern Congress which assembled December 7, 1863, in his annual message admitting the "grave reverses," but called attention to the victories won by the gallant troops so ably commanded in the States beyond the Mississippi over the invaders of Louisiana and Texas, and to the successful defense of Charleston against the joint land and naval operations of the enemy, while on more than one occasion the army in Virginia had forced the invaders to retreat precipitately to their entrenched lines. "If we are forced," says the Confederate President, " to regret losses in Tennessee and Arkansas, we are not without ground for congratulation on successes in Louisiana and Texas." And to further encourage the South in its struggle for independence the message earnestly insisted that "whatever obstinacy may be displayed by the enemy in his desperate sacrifices of money, life and liberty in the hope of enslaving us, the experience of mankind has too conclusively shown the superior endurance of those

who fight for home, liberty and independence, to permit any doubt of the result."

No signs appeared anywhere in the beginning of 1864 that the seceded States were willing to abandon the Confederacy unconditionally. In some quarters there were demonstrations in favor of a renewal of attempts to procure peace and restoration of the Union. "But as the friends of reconstruction could promise nothing from the Federal government except submission and emancipation, and as they possessed no control of any political organization which could sustain their views, they seem to have become finally silent." There was in fact a general acceptance of the view that the war must proceed, that political questions were settled, and the result must be left to arms. "We cannot contemplate," says one public appeal of that date, "the coming of the next and fourth campaign of the pending war without solicitude. Our enemies will commence the next campaign with some advantages of position which they did not have in the beginning of 1863. It will be incumbent upon us during the current year to call out all our resources and put forth all our strength."

The Confederate Congress, which was now in session at Richmond, was composed of many able statesmen. In the Senate were Clay and Jemison from Alabama; Johnson and Mitchell from Arkansas; Baker and Maxwell from Florida; Hill and Johnson from Georgia; Burnett and Sims from Kentucky; Symmes and Sparrow from Louisiana; Brown and Phelan from Mississippi; Clark from Missouri; Davis from North Carolina; Barnwell and Orr from South Carolina; Haynes and Henry from Tennessee; Oldham and Wigfall from Texas; Hunter and Caperton from Virginia. In the House the members were distinguished for conservatism and ability, among whom were Curry, Clopton, and Pugh, Garland, Trippe, Ewing, Breckinridge, Conrad, Davis, Barksdale, Vest, Ashe, Boyce, Gentry, Vaughn, Bocock, and Boteler. Mr.

Bocock was speaker and Albert Lamar clerk. The gravity of the situation evidently impressed the Confederate Congress, and in appreciation of the peril of the government immediate attention was given to filling up the thinned ranks of the armies. In the Senate Mr. Brown, of Mississippi, offered resolutions declaring that every male citizen should be enrolled in military service; that all laws authorizing substitutes be repealed; that foreigners should leave the country or take up arms to defend it, and that necessary civil positions should be filled by details. In addition to these measures he proposed to levy direct taxes sufficient to conduct the war; to make Confederate notes a legal tender; to prohibit trading in gold, silver and United States currency, and to make these laws "war measures" so that offenders should be tried by court martial. The military committee reported a bill to repeal all former laws which permitted the employment of substitutes, which was passed. Mr. Foote proposed resolutions requesting the President to withdraw diplomatic agents and dismiss all foreign consuls from the Confederacy. He also asked for investigation into the charges which had been made by the Northern press that the Confederacy was starving Federal prisoners, which was agreed to. Bills were passed prohibiting all traffic in United States currency. The conscription act was discussed at length and finally passed, declared all men between eighteen and fifty-five years of age subject at once to military duty, and required them to report within a certain time or be liable to trial for desertion. All mechanics would be detailed as well as railroad men, telegraph operators and miners. The country was thus placed under general military control and the Confederacy girded itself to renew the contest in 1864.

The political temper at Washington was sufficiently threatening to let the Confederacy understand that all of these preparations to exhaust the resources of the South in the cause it had espoused would be unavailing. The

year 1864 was opened with a number of Federal resolutions indicating the purpose to meet every demand of war in order to subdue the seceded States. Some of these were insanely violent. Such, for example, as the resolution offered by Mr. Myers to "prosecute the war until the rebellious States be conquered, and when the people have taken the oath they shall be pardoned, their leaders hung and the war cease." Similar ill-tempered resolutions were proposed and passed, and while they were softened by others of a more conciliatory character, yet none which opened the way to any peace negotiations found favor with the Congress. The contest for the party control of the government was near at hand and the preliminary movements having been already made these congressional resolutions were designed to have a bearing upon the ballots in Northern States rather than to show any patriotic purpose to bring the war to speedy and just conclusion. Mr. Chase, lately secretary of the treasury, was an aspirant to the Presidency even while serving in the cabinet, and had united with the ultra radicals of his party in an effort to secure the nomination. His charge against Mr. Lincoln was incompetency and conservatism; but it is difficult even at this date to see how the President could have been less conservative unless he would issue a proclamation of extermination, nor how any other could have better managed the extraordinary difficulties which he encountered in subduing the South. Mr. Chase soon discovered that he had placed himself in a false position and withdrew his name from the contest.

But the Presidential election of 1864 had engaged the attention of the anti-administration leaders of other parties who had been seeking during 1863 some common basis of opposition upon which they might make a successful race. Democrats calling themselves war Democrats and announcing their devotion to the Union held a party conference at Chicago November 24, 1863, preliminary to the call for a national Democratic meeting in

May, 1864. Another convention of Union men had assembled at Rochester, who also denounced secession and declared their opposition to the unconstitutional acts of the administration, and this was followed by still another convention held in Cincinnati December 4th, and again in Philadelphia December 24th, at which the conservative platform adopted by the legislature of Kentucky January 11, 1863, was made the basis of party union, and General McClellan was recommended as a candidate for the Presidency. There were enough elements of dissatisfaction in these various conventions to give Mr. Lincoln some fears and the Confederacy some hope that the party in power could be overthrown. The Congressional maneuvers for party advantage appear in the yet more distinct avowals made by the administration party of the war-power policy, and the settled purpose to crush the rebellion. Retracting nothing that had been avowed or done the administration resolved to stand or fall upon the emancipation proclamation; the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and unconditional submission of the seceded States to the authority of the Federal Union.

The Confederate Congress had little to do. Its measures for prosecuting the war were quickly passed and the burden of the execution thereof rolled upon the Confederate executive, the governors of the States and the ever-faithful soldiery. The general principle of the war had been settled. The "war power" had become incorporated at Washington as a new force among the powers conferred by the Constitution. Mr. Lincoln had concluded the angry controversy on this subject by his simple, terse declaration that "the Constitution conferred the war power in time of war." After this the Confederates knew that their States might be overturned, their property confiscated, and themselves banished according to this view of the Constitution. The Northern States also knew that this meant the use of force to keep down any

recusants who might desire to secure peace contrary to the policy of the administration. It was definitely settled that slavery would be abolished without compensation to the owners of negroes, and whatever else might be done under the war power was left to conjecture of no pleasing kind. Whether there would be any public exchange of prisoners, or how hostilities would be conducted, depended wholly upon the preponderance of power. With the political questions or war policy of the Washington administration the Confederates had nothing to confront except their armies. These questions had been in review before both nations for three years and decision had been made by Presidential proclamation, congressional legislation, military orders, and even judicial decisions against the Confederate States.

There was left, however, the faint hope that the election of 1864 would show gains even over the vote of 1862 against the administration, and bring the people of the United States to consideration of the terms of peace. Speeches were therefore made by President Davis, Vice-President Stephens, and Governor Letcher, of Virginia, and various editorials were published in Southern newspapers, to arouse the people to make the most resolute resistance until these questions could be passed upon at the ballot box by the people of the United States. An amendment of the Constitution of the United States was proposed January 11, 1864, to abolish slavery in all the States, which failed to pass the U. S. Senate, and became one of the main issues in the ensuing presidential election. A resolution declaring the constitutional objects of the war to be simply the restoration of the Union on the basis of the Constitution, and requesting President Lincoln to issue a proclamation inviting the revolted States to repudiate their secession ordinance upon the pledge of restoration to all their rights under the Constitution, was merely ordered to be printed, and another resolution in February, 1864, requesting the President to appoint

Pierce, Fillmore and Ewing commissioners to meet Confederate commissioners before hostilities commenced, to ascertain whether honorable peace may not be made, was voted down, yeas 26, nays 96. These and other resolutions offered in the U. S. Congress were forecasts of the issues on which the battle for political supremacy, now near at hand, was to be fought.

Preparations were meanwhile made during the winter for battle along all the lines of the interior of the Confederacy to which the Federal armies had penetrated, and with equal vigor the Confederates prepared for either offensive or defensive war, as they might have opportunity. The Confederate enrollment contained a few above 400,000 men, of whom it is stated that about one half were effective and in the field. The Federal force on duty at various places is officially reported as over a million men. This disparity of numbers though great, was less important than the difference in the resources of the two governments, and the only advantage which can be placed to the account of the South was its position as the defender of its soil.

The fighting opened for the year with surprising victories for the Southern armies. At Olustee, Florida, General Finegan and General Colquitt signally defeated General Seymour, and rescued a large part of that State. General Sherman had captured Meridian, in Mississippi, but was forced to beat a retreat to Vicksburg on account of the destruction of his cavalry by Forrest. In April Taylor attacked Banks at Mansfield, Louisiana, and drove him with great loss back to New Orleans. Hoke captured Plymouth, North Carolina, and the raid of Kilpatrick, with the disreputable accompaniment of the Dahlgren effort to burn Richmond and murder President Davis and his cabinet, were both defeated.

But these affairs did not affect the general course which military events were now taking. The two great armies of the Union, one in Virginia, the other in the West, in

Georgia, and Tennessee, both under the direction of General Grant, were the instruments by which the Confederacy was to be dissolved. These twin armies were so disposed by the plan of General Grant as to act in concert, in order that if both were victorious the Confederacy would be overwhelmed, and if either was defeated the other could render assistance. Defeat of both was not contemplated, but even in that contingency Grant had the pledge of his government to honor his further requisitions without question. The official control of the government by the result of the pending presidential election depended apparently on the success of these armies. "It is going on well," said Mr. Lincoln some months afterward, as the political campaign progressed, "a little more luck in our battles will make it all right." The forces of these great dependencies were well distributed. General Butler with 30,000 men had charge of the line along the James; General Sigel marched into the famous valley of Virginia, and General Meade with the main command under the immediate eye of Grant, amounting to about 125,000 men, occupied the north bank of the Rapidan. The other great army, commanded by General Sherman, extended from Dalton westward among the hills of Georgia, with instructions to force General Johnston, the Confederate commander, through Georgia, or to destroy his command in battle. The collision in Virginia between the armies of Lee and Grant began May 4th and continued nearly every day through the bloody series of engagements called "the battles of the Wilderness." The campaign of a month brought the Federal army to the McClellan position of 1862, but with losses from all sources which would have barred further progress had not reinforcements been freely furnished according to the promise of his government. The estimates are that Grant's army had contained 192,160 men, of which he had lost 60,000; Lee had 78,400 men and had lost nearly 20,000 in killed and wounded. In Georgia the two antag-

onists at first confronted near Dalton, but by a series of flanking movements which he was able to make with his superior force, General Sherman followed the retreat of Johnston from the 4th of May until he reached Atlanta the following July, timidly consuming two months in traversing less than one hundred miles, the rate of speed being not quite two miles per day and meanwhile suffering severe punishment in all battles fought during his advance.

On reaching the vicinage of Richmond and Petersburg the Federal commander, after making desperate efforts in vain to break Lee's lines for three days in June, began a plan of intrenchments from which to conduct the slow siege of the Confederate capital, on a line of operations which not only took all the summer, but exhausted the succeeding winter. President Lincoln saw the situation. His best general—the best at least, for the present stage of the war, had "hammered" Lee for months, only to wear out the splendid army which had begun the spring movement, in getting again on the ground from which Lee and Jackson had driven McClellan two years before, Butler had been bottled up on the James by Beauregard, Sigel defeated in the valley by Breckinridge, and after all, Grant's army had been compelled to intrench and await reinforcements on the ground most unfavorable for assault on the Confederate capital. Mr. Swinton, the historian, says "so gloomy was the military outlook after the action of the Chickahominy (second Cold Harbor, June 2), and to such a degree, by consequence, had the moral spring of the public mind become relaxed, that there was at this time great danger of a collapse of the war." And besides all this, the Democratic National Union convention was about to assemble. The President looked over the despairing field, and complying with the request of his deeply impressed Congress appointed for the first time since the war began a day of public prayer for the suppression of the rebellion.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE DECISIVE YEAR—1864.

POLITICAL BATTLE OF 1864 IN THE NORTH—PEACE CURRENTS—SOUTHERN PEACE MOVEMENTS—WAR OR PEACE DISCUSSED IN UNITED STATES CONGRESS—THE SITUATION IN JULY—NIAGARA CONFERENCE.

THE political battle of 1864 set in array at the North on the side of the administration was vehemently pronounced to be based on condemnation of secession, vindication of coercion, abolition of slavery and subjugation of the seceding States. It was urged that the defeat of Lincoln would be a Northern approval of disunion, a rebuke of the armies, and re-establishment of the arrogant slave power. In the temper of the times there was but a little chance of so directing Northern popular sentiment as to change the administration of the government in the midst of war. War was party necessity and the source of its power. An armistice as suggested by the opposition might be fatal to party supremacy. It might afford occasion to arouse the supposed latent Union sentiment in the Southern States. It might give time for sober reflection in the conditions of 1864 which were different from those of 1861. It might result in divisions among Southern leaders and Southern States. Mr. Davis favored an armistice but if it had been agreed on his Confederate presidency would have been imperiled. Probably the Confederate government would have dissolved. On the other hand, Mr. Lincoln was even at the point of a fierce earnestness opposed to any armistice—Grant's hammering must not cease.

Sherman must push on. The press must give daily notice of the speedy subjugation of the rebellion. A truce pending the canvass for the presidency might result in peace, reunion, overthrow of the Confederacy, abolition of slavery, but these gracious results would be brought about by parties opposed to the administration.

An armistice in order to dissolve the Confederacy and restore the Union without further bloodshed was the policy of the Northern conservatives. No Southern representative men have been suspected of any complicity with these fraternal and patriotic designs further than to suggest that fighting should cease and peace conferences be held. Fidelity to the Confederacy distinguished Confederate leaders. But this policy was openly and honestly avowed by eminent Northern leaders who held that it was not treasonable to the Union to suspend coercion and test the sincerity of Southern declarations in regard to peace. The openly stated position of Northern leaders who favored a temporary peace was that secession must be abandoned or the war would be pressed to the utmost subjugation. But with this outspoken notice to the South these patriotic leaders avowed their belief that the South would surrender to overtures of honorable peace and therefore they proposed to make them.

But while this agitation of the armistice plan was under discussion, Mr. Lincoln was at the Philadelphia Fair, June 15, 1864, and speaking to the people he said, "This war has taken three years. It was begun or accepted upon the line of restoring the National authority over the whole National domain, and for the American people, as far as my knowledge enables me to speak, I say we are going through on this line if it takes three years more." The armistice policy had been often brought forward in Congress and by portions of the public press, only to be invariably treated as if it were a truculent submission to the South. Mr. Lozier asked consent, May 30, 1864, to offer resolutions that the Pres-

ident be required to adopt measures to suspend hostilities for a limited time, and to provide for a general convention through which the differences may be settled and the Union restored, but objection was made and the resolution was not proposed. Mr. Le Blond, of Ohio, two weeks later offered an amendment to the enrollment bill then pending in the U. S. Congress that compulsory enrollment be suspended till such time as the President shall have made a request for an armistice and shall have made such efforts as are consistent with honor to restore harmony among the States by the appointment of commissioners empowered to negotiate for peace upon the terms of a restoration of the Union under the Constitution and until such offer shall have been rejected by the so-called Confederate government. This reasonable and patriotic resolution received only thirteen votes. Ninety-one votes were recorded against even a suspension of the draft preliminary to the offer of an armistice and the appointment of commissioners.

There were undoubtedly very powerful peace currents, genial as the gulf stream, setting in at this date from many sources upon the great throbbing bosom of the American people. They are all perceptible now by every one who reads the signs of those times. Those officials to whom the great interests of the South had been committed spoke of peace with due caution, sometimes uttering defiance and high resolve to maintain the Confederate cause at every cost, and yet it must be remembered that disunion for its own sake was never the "cause of the South." A Confederate senator from Georgia, one who was the right hand supporter of Mr. Davis, said in public speech to his people at home that slavery should be surrendered before constitutional rights were abandoned. All the declarations of eternal fealty to the Confederacy made in 1864 must be read and understood as expressions conditional upon the persistent maintenance by the administration at Washington of the

principles and policy it had adopted under the so-called war power. Mr. Stephens has recorded in his work on "The War Between the States" that he was at any time ready to advocate the reunion of the States upon the single but fundamental principle that the States were to have supreme control of their domestic affairs. It was under the influence of this genial current that the Georgia resolutions of March, 1864, were passed which gave warm color to the report that a Peace party movement was not only contemplated but actually organized in the South. These resolutions set forth very powerfully the ultra State Rights theory of Federal government and arraigned the Federal Constitution for its "monstrous usurpations of power, and undisguised repudiation of the Constitution," but they also declare that "while we regard the present war between these Confederate States and the United States as a huge crime whose beginning and continuance are justly chargeable to the government of our enemy, yet we do not hesitate to affirm that if our own government and the people of both governments would avoid all participation in the guilt of its continuance, it becomes all of them on all proper occasions and in all proper ways—the people acting through their State organizations and popular assemblies, and our government through its appropriate departments—to use their earnest efforts to put an end to this unnatural, unchristian and savage work of carnage and havoc. And to this end we earnestly recommend that our government immediately after signal successes of our arms, and on other occasions, where none can impute its action to alarm instead of a sincere desire for peace, shall make to the government of our enemy an official offer of peace on the basis of the great principle declared by our common fathers in 1776, accompanied by the distinct expression of willingness on our part to follow that principle to its true logical consequences." The resolutions concluded with the avowal that defensive

war must be sustained by all the resources of the State and "until the independence and nationality of the Confederate States is established upon a permanent and enduring basis." These Georgia resolutions were in general accordance with a peace policy which had been constantly urged by Southern statesmen. They were designed to make an impression upon the Northern mind during the early stages of the presidential campaign which would affect the election so as to change the control of national affairs from the radical to the conservative element. The worthy object was held, however, throughout the South, to be doubtful of attainment. "The peace talk," said an influential paper, "is designed to help the Northern Democrats, but it is a great mistake. It helps Lincoln, as we shall see to our sorrow." About the same time resolutions of like import were considered in the North Carolina legislature, declaring that "formal negotiations for peace on the basis of separation from the United States, should be instituted," and further recommending that proposals from the Confederate authorities be made to the Federal Congress looking to the holding of a peace convention for the adjustment of difficulties whose action shall be subject to ratification by the people. Mr. Wright, of Georgia, introduced resolutions in the Confederate Congress which seemed necessary on account of a public utterance by President Lincoln that no proposition for peace had yet been made by the Confederate government. The resolutions after referring to the statement declared that such propositions were prevented from being made by the President of the United States in that he refused to hear or to receive two commissioners appointed to treat expressly for the preservation of amicable relations between the two governments. Nevertheless, that the Confederate States may stand justified in the sight of the conservative men of the North of all parties, the resolutions proposed a meeting of representatives of all States to consider

whether an agreement can be entertained to recognize the Confederate States, and then the formation of a new government of all the States founded on the equality and sovereignty alike of all the States, but if this last object cannot be effected then an agreement to be made upon treaties, offensive, defensive and commercial between the two governments. Mr. Leach, of North Carolina, in May of the same year, offered other resolutions which recited that the administration at Washington had by legislation subverted the original Union, and that all the States should fall back upon the rights for which the Revolution had been fought. Upon this view his resolutions proposed that the delegates from each Southern State acting in sovereign and independent character appeal to the Confederate President to appoint commissioners to propose an armistice of ninety days, and report the answer received from the Federal government. If the armistice should be agreed to, the details of further negotiations were to be provided for through commissioners appointed by the States. Objection was raised that the resolutions provided for separate State action on a question constitutionally committed to the Confederate government. The general views expressed in the resolutions met with some favor but they were laid on the table by a decided vote of 62 yeas to 22 nays.

The United States Congress was not unaffected by these undercurrents of the peace movement. Prominent Northern leaders were saying, "Let commissioners be appointed without waiting for an armistice. Let negotiations begin." They were further urging that the illegal proclamations of Mr. Lincoln should be declared null and void. Mr. Long, of Ohio, boldly advocated a policy of peace which brought on his head the censure of the radical majority, and Harris, of Maryland, nearly shared the same distinction. The magnificent Voorhees exclaimed with burning eloquence that the baleful hand of political destructionists, who then unhappily possessed the

high seats of national authority, did not want peace. In a notable speech on the state of the Union in March, 1864, he charged that these destructionists "invoked the storm which had rained blood upon the land. They courted the whirlwind. They danced with hellish glee around the bubbling caldron of civil war. They welcomed with ferocious joy every hurtful mischief which flickered in its lurid and infernal flame." No Confederate oratory exceeded the vehemence with which the "War Power party" was assailed by members of Congress who saw the peril of liberty amidst the fierce strife between the sections. The press also ventured to assail the ultraists in an occasional exercise of its guaranteed freedom, notwithstanding frequent suppressions by military orders.

In fact, the general situation through the first half of 1864 was exceedingly favorable to the institution of a policy which it would seem, in the light now shining on that eventful period, might have stopped the "carnage and havoc" and re-introduced all States without dishonor of any into the enjoyment of "a more perfect union," than that from which they sought separation. The circumstances grew more and more auspicious even amidst the great battles between Lee and Grant until they culminated in July. Taking a view of the situation on the Fourth day of July, 1864, that day sacred to the patriotism of the whole country, it is seen that it might have been set apart for a conference between Grant, Sherman, Farragut, and Sheridan on behalf of the Northern army and navy, and Lee, Johnston, Buchanan and Forrest on behalf of the South. At that time Grant had reached the suburbs of Richmond but had paused to institute his siege. Sherman had passed Kenesaw mountain, and was on the northern side of the Chattahoochee. The blockade was practically effective along the entire Confederate coast, and the Western as well as the Trans-Mississippi States were debatable ground. Mr. Lincoln's proclama-

tion for 500,000 troops was ready to go before the country, and notwithstanding the discouragement on account of the prolongation of war the North showed no weakening in purpose to at least maintain the integrity of the Union. Even the so-called "Copperhead" was as resolute on that point as the most vicious radical. The Southern side showed the army of Lee sustaining every assault and so far able to maintain the defense of Richmond against great odds as to permit the dispatching of Early and Breckinridge to drive Hunter from Lynchburg and to march to the Potomac where the Fourth of July found them ready to cross for the purpose of attacking Washington. Johnston had preserved his army and was crossing the Chattahoochee to defend Atlanta, at which point a concentration of State troops was contemplated. Kirby Smith, Taylor, Stephen D. Lee and Forrest were still in position to protect the West and even to advance northward if Sherman should be checked. The Confederacy was not yet exhausted and popular faith in success had not died out. The two great antagonists were thus confronted in July, 1864, with the possibilities of devastation, death and suffering such as only a civil war can cause, all of which were unhappily realized by the neglect of this opportunity to secure peace.

Even the political situation was in great degree favorable to an honest, patriotic effort at reconciliation. Only two conventions had been held, one of these representing the most irritating and vicious extremists of the North, who could be content with nothing except the degradation of the South at large by military subjugation, including the rape of its lands, the burglary of its homes, the murder of its leaders and the exile of its noble people. This mob which met on May 31st, put Fremont at their head, and their action only intensified the critical favorableness of the hour for patriotism to act. The other convention which met in June at Baltimore, a Southern city, had actually discarded the name of the party that

had inaurguated war and with at least a seeming desire to abandon sectionalism had assumed the title of "The National Union Party," although the platform certainly belied the name, and lacked the one plank for which North and South were yearning. It lacked the plain declaration that all the States could at once resume toward each other and toward the government their former co-equal relations, a distinct negativing of the policy of conquest and military reconstruction. On the contrary it emphasized subjugation by arms, and denounced with vigor any compromise with rebels or any offer to them of terms of peace except such as may be based on unconditional surrender. It even assumed the responsibility of endorsing all the war measures, notwithstanding the courts had in some form expressed judicial condemnation of them. Yet notwithstanding these flies in the pot of ointment the way to peace was not entirely closed. Mr. Lincoln on his first response to the nomination shrewdly avoided committing himself to the platform and in his formal letter merely said, "the resolutions of the convention, called the platform, are heartily approved." Doubtless he meant a full approval without subjecting himself to the iron-clad restraints of a document manifestly designed to catch the votes of extremists without losing the support of the "war democracy."

Nearly two important months followed before the meeting of the third or Democratic convention, during which time the whole question of peace went under formal review.

The Southern aspect of the peace question at this juncture may now be considered. On account of information early in 1864 that there was a state of political feeling favorable to the termination of the war, a special commission was sent to Canada as a position where interviews might be held which could lead to an amicable settlement. Clay, of Alabama; Holcombe, of Virginia; and Thompson, of Mississippi, three among the most

eminent men of the South, constituted the committee on the part of the South, and selected Niagara Falls, on the border, as the place where they might meet such Northern statesmen as would interest themselves in the cause of peace. Horace Greeley at that time devoted his great influence to the effort to gain peace together with a restored Union. His idea was that a frank interchange of views would bring the two parties to a state of complete reconciliation in which he certainly had at first the sympathy of Mr. Lincoln. But at an interesting juncture, propitious indeed for adjustment, President Lincoln withdrew his recognition of the friendly movement, causing by this withdrawal of his favor an unfortunate and deeply regretted failure.

The conference proposed to be held at Niagara Falls was of much greater significance than any peace movement of this important date. The action of the Confederacy in stationing the three eminent statesmen in a position where they could be easily reached betrayed a desire for conference whose purpose could not be mistaken. Mr. Greeley was well advised that this overture by Mr. Davis could be turned to advantage by meeting it fully, whatever the result. With great carefulness he protected himself against all charges of disloyalty to the Union, while with enthusiasm equally great he pressed Mr. Lincoln to sanction and foster the proposed interview. If the South was for peace they must abandon secession, if for independence they must expect subjugation. On this basis Mr. Greeley could not see any reason why the administration might not develop the Southern ultimatum. But the party managers became frightened. The opposition was preparing for the Chicago convention in August. After wavering a while the President called off the interview and the budding peace withered at the touch of political necessity.

The history of this Clifton House procedure for the settlement of the war, as it was told by the testimony of the

actors, warrants the strong expressions of regret at the failure made by Mr. Greeley and the Southern commissioners. No peace movement appears to have so much embarrassed Mr. Lincoln's administration. Greeley had called the special attention of the President to the presence of these Southern gentlemen who were in the confidential employment of the Confederate government, and could at any time be invested with the authority to act on questions of peace. He declared that unless Mr. Lincoln met these commissioners "in the same spirit he would be held personally responsible by his countrymen and by posterity for every drop of blood that was thereafter shed and every dollar that was thereafter spent." Thus urged, the President requested Greeley to go quietly to Niagara Falls and find out what he could; a request which the great peacemaker eagerly accepted. Mr. George N. Sanders, a prominent politician of the Douglas school, was found to be at the Clifton House, from whom it appears the first communication was made July 12, 1864, to Mr. Greeley that Hon. Clement C. Clay, James P. Holcombe and George N. Sanders were ready to go to Washington if granted a safe passport. Mr. Greeley replied July 17th to the note of Mr. Sanders by addressing his letter to Clay, Jacob Thompson and Holcombe, and stating that he was informed they were "duly accredited from Richmond as the bearer of propositions looking to the establishment of peace," and tendering safe conduct. Immediately on receiving this communication Clay and Holcombe responded that they were not "duly accredited," as stated, but that they were authorized to declare that if the circumstances disclosed in the correspondence were communicated to Richmond, the credentials would be given either to themselves or that "other gentlemen clothed with full powers would be immediately sent to Washington to terminate at the earliest possible moment the calamities of the war." This important information that the specific authority to propose terms of peace had

not been conferred, but that full powers would be conferred at Richmond, was telegraphed by Mr. Greeley to Mr. Lincoln, with request for further instructions. The instructions were brought by Colonel Hay and were of such a nature that all negotiations were abruptly ended. Mr. Lincoln's letter on this grave matter in which the vast interests of the people of the North and South were greatly concerned, began with an inexcusable flippancy like the heading of an advertisement of strayed cattle. This official letter of the President, dated July 18th, from the executive mansion, to be brought by Colonel Hay for delivery through Mr. Greeley to gentlemen who would be accredited by the belligerent Confederacy to propose peace was addressed: "To whom it may concern." The body of the "instructions" following this promiscuous superscription merely authorized safety passports to accredited persons bringing the unconditional surrender of the Confederate armies. The Confederate representatives, in indignation at receiving a paper so different from the safe conduct they expected, as accredited bearers of propositions looking to the establishment of peace, left on record, July 21st, their judgment concerning the "sudden and entire change in the views of the President and of his rude withdrawal of a courteous overture for negotiation at the moment it was likely to be accepted. Mr. Greeley's disappointment was severe. He at least, believed the moment had come when honest diplomacy would restore the Union, and expressed his regrets of "the sad termination of the steps taken for peace from the change made by the President in his instructions given him to convey commissioners to Washington for negotiations unconditionally." Mr. Lincoln chose to make no public statements, and the Confederate authorities had none to make except the fact that once more their attempts to approach the Washington administration had been thwarted. The issue the same day on which he signed the "To whom it may concern" paper, of his

proclamation calling for 500,000 men for one year to be drafted after September 5th, if not furnished before, sufficiently explained the position of the administration.

A condition was now created which made the theory of "a Union as it was and a Constitution as it is," impracticable. The conditions existing in 1860 could not be restored by even the combined wisdom and power of all parties in both sections. Human events in their course create political relations wholly new. It was unfortunate for the cause of peace that party fortunes prevented the application of the truths of the times to the facts which had appeared. Reverence for constitutional restrictions on Federal power had fallen in the exigencies of war among the thieves who left it half dead. It was yet but half dead, and might have been restored to life, but it was left on the wayside, where it still lies awaiting the coming of a patriotism which will displace the usurpations of the "higher law" and enthrone constitutional law in the hearts of the American people. Slavery was also as much doomed in July, 1864, as it was at Appomattox in 1865. Neither peace and Union, nor peace and disunion, could have saved the institution. This fact had become so apparent to the Confederate leaders that they would have abolished slavery in order to secure independence. But the words which should have been bravely spoken from housetops on both sides at the risk of imprisonment, banishment and death, were whispered only in closets. Mr. Lincoln whispered union and Mr. Davis called for peace. But the two magnates supreme in the realm of influence stood before the public on only two terms: Mr. Lincoln said "Submission;" Mr. Davis said "Independence." Probably neither meant all these two words implied.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CRITICAL SITUATION.

RE-SURVEY, MILITARY AND POLITICAL—RADICAL CONVENTION IN MAY—REPUBLICAN CONVENTION IN JUNE—SOUTHERN VIEW OF NORTHERN POLITICS—FAILURE OF THE ARMISTICE—PEACE PROPOSITIONS IGNORED—NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN AUGUST—SOUTHERN DESIRE FOR McCLELLAN'S ELECTION—THE CANVASS FOR PRESIDENCY—LINCOLN RE-ELECTED.

A RE-SURVEY of the same period already considered will be taken in this chapter on account of the supremely important civil history made during the critical summer months of 1864. These four central months of May, June, July and August, were replete with events both military and political, by which the destiny of the Confederacy was determined. Grant began in May that military policy which appeared to his mind to be the sure winner in a long struggle. All through May and June he "hammered" against Lee's lines and through July and August laid siege against Richmond with some desperate and unsuccessful assaults. Through the first three months Sherman crept after Johnston with a caution which evinced his esteem of that Southern general's reputation, and in September entered Atlanta, from which he drove the citizens and afterward burned their homes. The Confederate war ship "Alabama" on June 19, 1864, fought the "Kearsarge," whose concealed armor resisted the guns of the Confederate vessel, and at the end of the daring duel the "Alabama" went down, having made its name illustrious in naval story. Early and Breckinridge entered Maryland, de-

feated Wallace at Monocacy on July 9, 1864, and formed line in sight of the national Capitol to the consternation of the administration. Admiral Farragut steamed into Mobile Bay with his fleet the first week of August, captured the Confederate ship "Tennessee," drove the other vessels up the river and reduced the forts but failed to take the city. Meanwhile Forrest in June put Sturgis to rout at Tishomingo Creek and Morgan re-entered Kentucky, while Price again marched into Missouri. Altogether the Confederacy was showing a wonderful amount of energy in the employment of its daily lessening resources. Mr. Lincoln felt and expressed in August his discouragement on account of the failure to secure any decided victories, and especially that Richmond was so successfully defended. He then turned for consolation to further enrollment of the negro slaves, and in his August interview with Judge Mills, of Wisconsin, he cried out: "Abandon all the posts now garrisoned by black men, take 200,000 men from our side and put them in the battlefield or cornfield against us and we would be compelled to abandon the war in three weeks!" General Grant at this time built his expectations of success on the approaching exhaustion of Confederate fighting men. Writing from his headquarters to Washburne, August 16, 1864, he comforts the administration with these words: "The rebels have now in their ranks their last man. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, guarding railroad bridges and forming a good part of their garrisons for entrenched positions. A man lost by them cannot be replaced. They have robbed alike the cradle and the grave to get their present force. Besides what they lose in frequent skirmishes and battles, they are now losing from desertions and other causes at least one regiment per day. With this drain upon them the end is not far distant if we will only be true to ourselves." The letter of the great Union general was written to a great politician and was designed for political

use, but it makes some singular military confessions. With the immense resources of the Union to draw upon even by the pending draft the excited President pinned his own hope to the sleeve of uniformed colored troops, two hundred thousand strong. With the same resources at his unquestioned requisition and with great armies East and West obedient to his sole command, the lieutenant-general allows himself to be defeated for eight months after discovering that the small force in his own front was composed of the last men that could be armed, a force whose loss could not be replaced, and daily diminishing by desertions and other causes at the rate of a regiment per day. Supposing that Lee had 50,000 men in small regiments of 500 men each, his army at this rate of desertions and other causes would all be gone in one hundred days, or reckoning as General Grant meant, 1,000 men as a regiment all would be gone in fifty days. It is very plain that the statement was grossly erroneous. All these extraordinary statements, however, serve to show not only the extremity of the South at this period, but also the masterful management by Lee of the heroic armies under his command, and as well the fortitude of a people who contributed for their defense the fruits of the cradle and the withered leaves of the grave, as well as "the flower of their chivalry."

The political campaign consentaneous with the military movement of this period, fairly opened on the last of May as heretofore mentioned, in a convention of the extreme radical part of the Republican party, held in Cleveland, Ohio, which in a brief platform declared in favor of the most ultra war measures, even to the immediate confiscation of Southern lands and a division of them among Federal soldiers. This, however, was not a new view, as confiscation had often been urged in Congress before, and as far as possible had been put in practice under the war power. Even General Sherman had written a recommendation of this measure as the surest way of

ending the rebellion. The convention merely repeated this old and strong appeal to the mercenary spirit and nominated very appropriately General John C. Fremont as their candidate, who, however, disappointed them at the beginning by dissenting from their confiscation policy, and in finally abandoning the canvass. Very marked opposition had been displayed to Mr. Lincoln's re-election by many who had been his supporters. Chase, as has been remarked, schemed for the succession. Dissatisfaction existing in New York had led to a public meeting in honor of Grant with an ulterior purpose of projecting his name upon the attention of the Union, which purpose met its defeat in Grant's open declaration for Lincoln. In fact, there was no one who stood so prominently forward as Lincoln, with whose candidacy the party in power had won its first victory, and this became evident even before the convention met.

On the 7th of June, 1864, the delegates to the Republican convention assembled in Baltimore according to the authorized call. The week immediately preceding had been employed in highly exciting military demonstrations, in the midst of which the delegates were assembling to consider the nomination of their party for the Presidency. Sherman was giving battle at New Hope church in Georgia and Grant was making his grand general assault on Lee's lines at Cold Harbor. Both generals received their punishment at the hands of the Confederate armies. Sherman recoiled from Johnston and once more glided around the flank of an army whose front he could not break. Grant made storming assaults until 12,737 of his brave men were put out of line, and the remainder stubbornly but wisely refused to charge again. "Another charge being ordered," says Swinton, "no man stirred, and the immobile lines pronounced a verdict silent yet emphatic against slaughter." To this date General Grant's losses for the campaign as stated footed up sixty thousand men.

Under these conditions the convention met, and discarding its old name of Republican, called itself "Union," thus for the first time confessing to a yearning to be considered "National." The "Union National Convention;"—with this superscription the delegates from all parties enrolled their names, among whom were many of the most distinguished men of the nation. Several war governors were prominent among other eminent leaders, such as Cameron, Thaddeus Stevens, Dickinson, Grow, Dennison and Preston King. Delegates from the manipulated Southern States were after parley allowed to vote, except those from Virginia and Florida. The platform was composed of trenchant and defiant declarations against any terms of peace with the South except such as would be based upon an unconditional surrender, and it demanded also a vigorous prosecution of the war. The complete extirpation of slavery was of course to be effected, and the emancipation proclamation was adopted as the fixed policy of the party. Mr. Lincoln's measures were endorsed and the Monroe doctrine was thrown in as a hint to Maximilian in Mexico. The platform was so satisfactory to the extremists that it was adopted by acclamation and upon it Mr. Lincoln was nominated without dissent. The choice of a candidate for the vice-presidency resulted in the rejection of Daniel S. Dickinson, of New York, through the politicians of his own State, and the nomination of Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee. This nomination from a Southern State was urged on the ground that it would nationalize the Republican party, which in itself was a confession that the claim to the recently adopted name needed at least this shadowy support.

The platform and the nomination of Mr. Lincoln were expected by the South and the announcement of the event produced no special comment in Richmond. The Confederate Congress continued its legislation on the currency and the means of obtaining supplies. A bill

was passed allowing further time to persons within the enemy's lines to fund their treasury notes, which the President failed to approve. A new tax act was passed levying an additional one-tenth tax required by former acts to be paid in kind and confirming the impressment laws. Supplies necessary for the support of the producer and his family, and to carry on his ordinary business were exempted. The secretary of war was given the discretion to collect or not to collect the additional one-tenth in particular localities, and also the privilege of selling the products received under the act, to State officers for the use of the families of soldiers. Impressment of supplies was authorized to be made only by officers and agents appointed for the purpose. The Confederate Congress then adjourned, June 15th, to meet again in the following November.

The period so auspicious for truce and peace passed on into the meeting of the National Democratic party in Chicago, August 31, 1864, to formulate a platform and put out opposition candidates pledged to invite the Southern States to resume their former relations as far as the new conditions created by the war would permit. The time for the assembling of this convention had been first fixed for the Fourth of July but was wisely postponed in view of the pending efforts to secure peace. It now assembled after these efforts had failed and while new and gigantic measures were in progress to carry on the war. The general, central principle which this assembly seems to have desired to put in issue at the ballot box, was that the Southern States should have the option of reconstruction and resumption of their places in the Union on the old constitutional basis, or on refusing that they should be subjugated by war. The other side was already before the country upon the proposition that the South must first unconditionally surrender, must be subjugated and then reconstructed. Both parties

were for war to preserve the Union. The issue was on the mode of restoration.

The convention was called to order by August Belmont, chairman of the National Democratic convention. Governor Bigler, of Pennsylvania, was made temporary chairman, and Governor Seymour, of New York, was elected permanent president. Among the hundreds of distinguished statesmen who came as delegates were Tilden, Pendleton, Hunt, Guthrie, Stockton, S. S. Cox, Voorhees, Saulsbury, Vallandigham and Allen. The speeches of Governor Bigler and Governor Seymour before the great body surveyed the rise and progress of alienation between the sections, the efforts to keep the peace, the congressional battle for constitutional liberties, and the overthrow of the Constitution in the needless exercise of the war power by the administration. The platform began with a patriotic resolution of unswerving fidelity to the Union, which was followed by another containing the expression "that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war," during which public liberty and private right had been trodden down and the Constitution disregarded in every part, immediate efforts should be made for a cessation of hostilities with a view to a convention of States or other means to restore peace on the basis of the Federal Union of the States. This resolution was drawn with care, but it contained one word on which the party was assailed with a success which proves how easily popular prejudices may be played upon. That word was "failure." "Four years of failure to restore the Union by war" was a fact upon which it was proposed to try a conference of all the States as a means to restore the Union. But in the campaign which followed the party had to meet the charge that they had dishonored the brave armies of the Union by pronouncing all their valor and their blood "a failure." Certainly this was not in the letter or the spirit of the platform, and was disavowed by every

speaker on that side, nevertheless it went into the popular mind that the opposition had denounced the soldiery of the Union. The platform declared for an unimpaired Union and indicted the administration on all the grounds of usurpation which had become familiar by frequent use. The arraignment was startlingly terrible, and being true, justified secession before every popular tribunal in the world. These fearful counts in the accusation of this convention of eminent men against the administration were as follows: Usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution; the subversion of the civil by military law in the faithful States; arbitrary military arrest, imprisonment, trial and sentence of American citizens in States where the civil law exists in full force; suppression of freedom of speech and of the press; denial of the right of asylum; open and avowed disregard of State rights; employment of unusual test oaths; interference with and denial of the right of the people to bear arms in their defense; direct interference of the military in elections and disregard of the Constitution in every part. This burning impeachment exceeded all the causes set forth by the Colonies in the Declaration of Independence to justify their rebellion against King George. They were deliberately published by a vast convention composed of men who were among the ablest and most conservative in the Union, and they were applauded in every State of the Union. The evidence to sustain every charge was at the command of these distinguished Northern men, all of whom were devotees of the Union and many of them actual soldiers in the army. The reading of the lurid lines so long after the restoration of the Union produces a shudder because it is thus made to appear that on the holiest of pleas the most tyrannical acts can be perpetrated in a republic as well as in a monarchy. The Confederate leaders said in 1860: "We fear that these things will be done." The most

patriotic of Northern men said in 1864: "They have been done."

The convention nominated McClellan, a great soldier of unquestioned devotion to the Northern side of the secession question. He did not suit the Maryland delegation on account of certain military orders, but his unmistakable purpose to fight the South unless her States came back into the Union pleased the convention, and those Confederate leaders whose ultimatum was independence took no comfort from his nomination. If they had inclined to indulge a hope of success through McClellan one line in his letter of acceptance would have banished the illusion:—"The Union must be preserved at all hazards." But there was one other remark in the same letter which drew the line sharply between McClellan and the party supporting Lincoln. That remark, full of wisdom, is in this language: "When any one State is willing to return to the Union it should be received at once with a full guarantee of all its constitutional rights." The utterance was wise, but it was dangerous to the Confederacy, for it avowed a policy which at that juncture might have had responses from some Confederate States or parts of States. It was patriotic and humane; but it beat the brave man who uttered it. It was not in line with the proposed radical reconstruction of the entire theory of constitutional government.

No one who candidly surveys the political field of the Confederate war period will fail to see that the Northern Democrats were compelled by their political interests and by their Union record to be the most incorrigible, unyielding opponents of permanent secession. The party record from the days of Jackson through the period of the Texas annexation, when their freesoil opponents were threatening to cause a New England secession, and through the days of the compromise of 1850, when the party alignment was on concession and conciliation, as against sectional obstinacy; and through the battles of

their chieftains against the sectional party of 1856, as they had fought the abolitionists because of their disunionism; and finally their stand for true Nationalism in 1860;—all this record made it certain that the Democracy of the North would not agree to separation—would agree to anything that was honorable, but would not consent to separation. It can be recalled in this connection that no Democratic editor nor statesman advised the government to "let the wayward sisters go in peace." Not in a single instance did one of their statesmen urge opposition to the measures of the radicals except on the main ground that they were rendering the restoration of the Union more and more difficult. The most vigorous appeals made during any Congress on behalf of legislation that would quickly bring back the seceded States came from Democratic members. Not even Mr. Vallandigham, who was banished South for denouncing the policy of the administration in public speech, ever uttered a word which signified his willingness to any terms which included the success of secession. On being thrust by a military Union guard against and across the military secession line, he surrendered himself as a prisoner, announcing to his captors unmistakably his determination to stand by the Union. General McClellan also, as the nominee of the Democratic party in 1864, just as clearly and forcibly declared that the war should proceed even to subjugation, unless the Southern States consented to cease hostilities and return to the Union under the protection of well-understood constitutional provisions. Some Southern leaders deceived themselves with the hope of such sympathy from the Democratic statesmen who withstood the encroachments of the executive and Congress upon the plea of "military necessity," as would help the South finally to a recognition of its independence; but the most careful search does not betray the Northern Democracy in any counsel or co-operation with the South at any time, in any scheme

to close the war by consenting to secession. The position of the Democrats was, in fact, the precise ground taken by Mr. Lincoln at the beginning of his administration and from which he receded under radical pressure. That position was "the Union without slavery, or with slavery —but the Union must not be dissolved." The leading proposition which they brought forward at various times during four years was that this single question be submitted in any feasible way to the Southern people—Are you resolved on attempting only one end, to establish an independent government? If the answer should be in the negative, the government would then hear the grievances which had caused secession, would redress every wrong, and disarm the spirit of disunion. If, on the contrary, a separate nation was proposed without regard to any adjustment of grievances, Democracy would oppose against it all the entire resources of the United States.

Confederate leaders were greatly influenced from the beginning of the trouble, by proper consideration for the position of the large majority at the North who like themselves opposed the sectional policy of the party which bore Mr. Lincoln into the presidency. It was the earnest desire of this vast Northern conservative element, as was evinced by hundreds of popular demonstrations, to have all hostilities averted with the hope that by lapse of time and mutual forbearance secession could be arrested and the Union preserved. There was undoubtedly very general sympathy at the South with this view of the situation, notwithstanding the fears of the radical aims of the new party. The same consideration for these Northern patriots caused the Confederate authorities to announce that their policy was defensive. The opposition to invasion of Maryland or attack on Washington immediately following the great Confederate victory at Bull Run, was based partly on this policy. Hesitation to cross the Potomac or the Ohio is attributed to the same desire not

to arouse the war spirit of the North. Mr. Stephens, the Vice-President, was decided in his views that the Confederacy should ally itself with the anti-Republicans and demonstrate a willingness to even reform the Union upon the basis of the Constitutional recognition of the sovereignty of States in matters purely domestic. The rapid development of the coercion and subjugation policies to which Mr. Lincoln yielded dissipated the early hope of reconciliation, and yet the overtures for adjustment were suggested from year to year at every favorable turn in the current of hostile encounter. The Confederate States had looked with eager concern upon the first political skirmishing of 1863 and 1864 preliminary to the great battle for the presidency of the United States. Settlement with a new administration was now believed to be feasible—with the existing administration impossible.

Within a week after the adjournment of the Chicago convention there were sufficient successes of the Federal forces in various places to be utilized for popular demonstrations which instantly and powerfully aided the canvass for Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Seward said, "Sherman and Farragut have knocked the planks out of the Chicago platform." President Lincoln also saw that it was advantageous on many accounts to issue a Thanksgiving proclamation. National salutes from military headquarters and navy yards were fired with a fervor which stirred the orators of the hustings. Reverses in the field, said Mr. Lincoln, will make our case doubtful, but with victory the election will take care of itself.

The political campaign grew to its highest heat very rapidly in September. During that month Confederate leaders were desirous to impress the Northern mind with the belief that McClellan's election would bring about a cessation of hostilities, and lead to some bloodless settlement of the disputes between the sections. That view was also urged by Northern speakers and editors who

supported McClellan upon their belief that the Southern States would willingly return to the Union on the defeat of the sectional party. Resolutions debated in State legislatures and public meetings encouraged that hopeful aspect of the question, particularly certain resolutions in Alabama, which declared in reference to the overtures of the Chicago convention that "if the aforesaid party is successful we are willing and ready to open negotiations for peace on the basis indicated in the platform adopted by said convention—our sister States of this Confederacy being willing thereto." In the Georgia legislature a series of resolutions offered by Linton Stephens defined very clearly the position of the South, and said, "We hail with gratification the just and sound sentiment coming from a large and growing party in the North that all associations of these American States must be voluntary and not forcible, and we give a hearty response to their proposition to suspend the conflict of arms and hold a convention of States to inaugurate a plan of permanent peace." In North Carolina a disposition to bring about peace through the encouragement of the conservatives of the North became apparent as the Presidential canvass proceeded. Mr. Boyce, in an open letter, urged that "the only political organization which proposes to intervene between us and the war party North is the party which adopted the Chicago platform. Now should we pursue a policy to build up that party or not? I think most decidedly we should. My great purpose is to break down the wall of fire which separates us from the influences of peace in the North. I have great faith that if Lincoln and his policy were once repudiated and negotiations for peace entered upon, that very moment we would approach nearer to an auspicious result." Vice-President Stephens zealously supported the policy that some decided and prominent action should be taken by the Confederate government toward meeting the overtures of the Chicago resolutions. His reasons were

that the conservatives of the North still outnumbered the radicals notwithstanding the prejudices created since the war commenced, and that it was expedient to let them know the reasonable terms on which the South was willing to stop the further shedding of fraternal blood. The only objection to these views was made that Southern overtures of any decided character would certainly be construed in the South as evidence that the Confederate government was despairing of success, which would discourage the armies, while they would also increase the growing confidence at the North that the rebellion was nearing its end. They would encourage the Northern war party. Therefore nothing was done of an official nature by the Confederate government. Perhaps nothing could have been attempted. President Davis and other Confederate leaders had already openly signified their preference for the success of McClellan on the ground that peace on proper terms could be secured if a change of administration at Washington should take place. This was as far, they thought, as prudence would permit them to go. Herschell V. Johnson, who had been the candidate for Vice-President of the United States with Stephen A. Douglas for President, entered with sympathetic earnestness into the policy of co-operation with the Chicago convention, but declared his conviction that any movement proceeding from the South "would be regarded as our confession of overthrow, and the premonitory symptoms of our readiness to sue for mercy on the bended knees of unconditional surrender. We have avowed our desire for peace and our readiness for negotiations from the very beginning of the war, in every form in which organized communities can give expression to their will. We have avowed it in executive messages, in legislative resolves and congressional manifestations. What more can we do in our situation? * * * In view of the avowed object of the war on the part of the Northern Government it is very certain that there can be no peace

upon any honorable terms so long as its present rulers are in power. * * * Subjugation is no worse than the submission offered to us as the only condition of peace. It would at least save us our honor." Alluding to the possibility of the election of McClellan he said that "it will bring the two contending parties together face to face in the arena of reason and consultation. Then and there can be discussed the history of all our difficulties, the principles involved in the bloody issue, and the respective interests of both governments. Such is my conviction of the omnipotence of truth and right that I feel an abiding confidence that an honorable peace would ultimately spring from such deliberations. * * * I would not be understood as standing on any point of etiquette as to who should take the initiative. All I mean to say is that in view of the avowed policy of the United States government any advance on our part is already rejected before made and that we cannot make any upon the conditions announced by its President. I would not hesitate to take the initiative if there was the least hope of a favorable response or an honorable result. Such I believe to be the temper of our people. Such I am satisfied is the sentiment of the President of the Confederate States. He has avowed it on every occasion which required him to allude to the subject."

It must be kept clearly in mind that Mr. Stephens and others who associated with him in urging the Confederate administration to initiate during this canvass a movement to assemble an independent Congress or convention of all the several States immediately after the election of McClellan, entertained no design of abandoning the Confederacy. On the contrary they urged with emphasis that the success of the peace party at the North would secure the independence of the South or a reorganization of the Union, which would "secure peace on this continent for ages to come." "In every view I can take of the subject," said Mr. Stephens, "I regard the success

of the State Rights party at the North of the utmost importance to us. With these views you readily perceive how I regarded the action of the Chicago convention as a 'ray of light,' the first ray of real light I had seen from the North since the war began. * * * The issue of this war, in my judgment, was subjugation of independence. I so understood it when the State of Georgia seceded, and it was with a full consciousness of this fact with all its responsibilities, sacrifices and perils, that I pledged myself then and there to stand by her and her fortunes whatever they might be in the course she had adopted."

But the South was as unable to relax the political grasp of the administration as it now was to resist the great military resources which were pressing it toward inevitable defeat. The elections went on with the usual incidents of a presidential campaign, but also with the additional circumstance that the military began now to be made useful in their management of elections to high civil office. The newly constructed governments of Tennessee and Kentucky found that they had been formed for special political purposes and the Federal military were on duty to see that the ballots were cast to suit. The army vote itself was given almost unanimously for Lincoln, and while in New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, Deleware, Oregon, New Jersey, Maryland and Pennsylvania the vote was close it yet appeared in the final count that Lincoln had carried all Northern States except New Jersey, together with the votes of Missouri and West Virginia, which were plundered for the occasion. The peace party thus went down in overwhelming disaster.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE LAST STAGES OF THE STRUGGLE.

CONFEDERATE CONGRESS, NOVEMBER, 1864—MESSAGE—QUESTION OF ENROLLING NEGROES IN SOUTHERN SERVICE—MEASURES OF THE CONGRESS—NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE PROPOSED BY CONGRESS.

IN this state of affairs the Confederate Congress met in Richmond November 7, 1864, for its last session. The message of President Davis treated especially on the general state of the war, the employment of negroes in the army and negotiations for peace. The message said on the negro question, that the employment of slaves with the army as teamsters or cooks or in the way of work on fortifications, or in the government workshops, or in hospitals or other similar duties was authorized by the act of February 17th last, and that provision was made for their impressment to a number not exceeding twenty thousand if it should be found impracticable to obtain them by contract with the owners. The law contemplated the hiring only of the labor of these slaves and imposed on the government the liability to pay for the value of such as might be lost to the owners from casualties resulting from their employment in the service. This act had produced less results than was anticipated, and further provision was required to render it efficacious. "But my present purpose," said the President, "is to invite your consideration to a radical modification in the theory of the law." The modification referred to was explained to consist in the view that the slave bore the relation of a person to the State, while under the Confederate as well as the United

States law he was viewed also as property subject to impressment. On account of this relation and because many questions arising under the existing law which authorized contracts and impressments for short terms the President suggested that the government acquire by purchase the entire property in the labor of the slave. "Whenever the entire property," says the message, "in the service of a slave is thus acquired by the government, the question is presented. By what tenure should he be held? Should he be retained in servitude or should his emancipation be held out to him as a reward for faithful service, or should it be granted at once on the promise of such service?" The policy of engaging to liberate the negro on his discharge after service faithfully rendered seemed to the President preferable to that of granting immediate manumission or to that of retaining him in servitude. An enlargement of negro enrollment on this plan to forty thousand in the number of negroes to be used for specified purposes and additions to the duties already performed by them of service as pioneers and engineer laborers was regarded by President Davis as desirable. The President carefully distinguished between employing negroes in defense of the homes where they were reared and the inciting the same negroes to insurrection and murder. He regarded it as justifiable if it became necessary to organize the negroes to repel the invasion of the country in which they lived, and that their freedom would be justly won by such employment of their services. On the other hand the incitement of negroes to insurrection was iniquitous and unworthy of a civilized people. "Such is the judgment of all writers on public law as well as that insisted on by our enemies in all wars prior to that now waged against us. By none have the practices of which they are now guilty been denounced with greater severity than by themselves in the two wars with Great Britain in the last and in the present century; and in the Declaration of Independence of 1776 when enumeration was made

of the wrongs which justified the revolt from Great Britain, the climax of atrocity was deemed to be reached only when the English monarch was denounced as having incited domestic insurrection against us." President Davis did not favor any general arming of the slaves for the duty of soldiers. The white man of the South who was accustomed to bear arms should be in the army and the negro accustomed to labor should be employed in that species of service. "But," said he, "should the alternative ever be presented of subjugation or the employment of the slave as a soldier there seems no reason to doubt what should then be our decision."

Mr. Davis made a further remark in this message of November, 1864, which exhibits the trend of his own thoughts and the views of others like himself who were then contemplating the possibility that slavery would finally be discontinued. Referring to the freedom that could thus be acquired through military service by at least forty thousand able-bodied young negro men, he said:

"The social and political question which is exclusively under the control of the several States has a far wider and more enduring importance than that of pecuniary interests. In its manifold phase it embraces the stability of our republican institutions, resting on the actual political equality of all citizens, and includes the fulfillment of the task which has been so happily begun, that of Christianizing and improving the condition of the Africans who have by the will of Providence been placed in our charge. Comparing the results of our own experience with those of the experience of others who have borne similar relations to the African race, the people of the several States of the Confederacy have abundant reason to be satisfied with the past and use the greatest circumspection in determining their course."

Congress proceeded to legislate so as to remove the evils of exemptions and details; also to authorize and regulate sequestration and to provide for raising revenue by direct

taxation. The existing tax laws on incomes and salaries were continued in force. Strong independence resolutions were unanimously passed, and a bill, apparently unnecessary, defined and provided for the punishment of conspiracy against the Confederate States. Nothing definite was done in making effective the employment of negroes.

The subject of negotiations for peace engrossed the attention of Congress, to a large degree, excluding other discussions. The President said in his message that "the disposition of this government for a peaceful solution of the issues which the enemy has referred to the arbitration of arms has been too often manifested and is too well known to need new assurances. But while it is true that individuals and parties in the United States have indicated a desire to substitute reason for force and by negotiation to stop the further sacrifice of human life and to arrest the calamities which now afflict both countries, the authorities who control the government of our enemies have too often and too clearly expressed their resolution to make no peace except on terms of our unconditional submission and degradation, to leave us any hope of the cessation of hostilities until the delusion of their ability to conquer us is dispelled. * * * Peace is manifestly impossible unless desired by both parties to this war, and the disposition for it among our enemies will be best and most certainly evoked by the demonstration on our part of ability and unshaken purpose to defend our rights and to hold no earthly price too dear for their purchase. Whenever there shall be on the part of our enemies a desire for peace there will be no difficulty in finding means by which negotiations can be opened, but it is obvious that no agency can be called into action until this desire shall be mutual. When that contingency shall happen, the government to which is confided the treaty making power can be at no loss for means adapted for accomplishing so desirable an end. In the hope that the day will soon be reached when under Divine favor these States

may be allowed to enter on their former peaceful pursuits and to develop the abundant natural resources with which they are blessed, let us then resolutely continue to devote our united and unimpaired energies to the defense of our homes, our lives and our liberties. This is the true path to peace. Let us tread it with confidence in the assured result."

CHAPTER XXV.

THE LAST GREAT PEACE EFFORTS.

MISSION OF MR. BLAIR—DAVIS AND LINCOLN EXCHANGE LETTERS THROUGH BLAIR—FAILURE OF BLAIR DISCUSSED—THE HAMPTON ROADS CONFERENCE.

AMONG all the efforts to bring the leaders of the two governments together so as to have a consultation, none excited more hope than the informal undertaking by the venerable Francis P. Blair, of Maryland. During the latter part of December, 1864, he proposed in confidential conversations with his friends to go to Richmond and see Mr. Davis, whom he had long known, and there initiate a movement by which the armies of Grant and Lee would cease fighting each other and march together against the French emperor of Mexico. On the 28th of December this venerable and patriotic enthusiast obtained from President Lincoln a brief pass to "go South and return." Two days later President Davis received his request to be permitted to visit Richmond, which was at once granted, but for some unexplained reason the letter of the Confederate President was delayed in Washington, though at last delivered after having been opened. Failing after two efforts to see President Lincoln before leaving for the South Mr. Blair proceeded to Richmond and held a confidential interview with President Davis on the 12th of January, 1865. The Confederate President received his distinguished visitor with cordiality as an old acquaintance and also with the consideration due the great mission on which he had volunteered. Mr. Blair had come only as a private gentleman, with neither

credentials nor instructions, merely proposing to present a plan of his own, the chief feature of which was to make a diversion which would result in peace and reunion by turning the two armies against the Emperor Maximilian in assertion of the Monroe doctrine which was popular South and North. In addition to the unfolding of this plan of peace he replied to a question of Mr. Davis by stating that he had no assurance that President Lincoln would receive commissioners from the Southern States, but offered his opinion that he would do so at this juncture. The Confidential interview was protracted until a thorough comprehension of the mission was obtained by President Davis, and it was closed by his writing the following significant letter at once, which he submitted to Mr. Blair and signed. It will be read with interest as manifesting the mind of the Confederate President at that time, as showing his disposition to make peace, and as exhibiting his carefulness in the use of words so as to avoid giving offense. One phrase only seemed to imply independence as his ultimatum. That was the expression: "The two countries." The following is the letter addressed to Mr. Blair:

"Richmond, Va., January 12, 1865.

"Sir: I have deemed it proper and probably desirable to you to give you in this form the substance of remarks made by me to be repeated by you to President Lincoln.

"I have no disposition to find obstacles in forms and am willing now as heretofore to enter into negotiations for the restoration of peace; and am ready to send a commission whenever I have reason to suppose it will be received, or to receive a commission if the United States government shall choose to send one. That, notwithstanding the rejection of our former offers, I would, if you could promise that a commissioner, minister, or other agent, would be received, appoint one immediately, and renew

the effort to enter into conference with the view to secure peace to the two countries.

JEFFERSON DAVIS."

With this important letter Mr. Blair returned to Washington, and showing it to President Lincoln, obtained from him a communication designed to be read by the Confederate President. This letter, also addressed to Mr. Blair, and dated at Washington, January 18, 1865, was as follows:

"Sir: You having shown me Mr. Davis' letter to you of the 12th instant, you may say to him that I have constantly been, am now and shall continue ready to receive any agent whom he or any other influential person now resisting the national authority may informally send to me with the view of securing peace to the people of our one common country.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

Thus far the preliminaries seemed to gratify Mr. Blair. "It was well you wrote me that letter," he said to Mr. Davis when he reached Richmond, on his second visit bearing the letter from Mr. Lincoln, and on which action was taken at once notwithstanding its careful avoidance of all recognition of Confederate States officials, its characterization of the Confederate President as simply one of a number of "influential persons engaged in resisting the national authority," and its plain foil of the intimation of Mr. Davis that there were two countries.

What prevented the success of this mission? President Davis thought that during Blair's stay in Richmond he discovered more than ought to have been known abroad concerning the weakness of the Confederacy, and the anxiety for peace which disturbed men's minds. His visits excited great interest and great hopes in Richmond. His high character, his Southern blood, his sage-like appearance, his supposed influence at Washington, all contributed to make him and his objects deeply interesting

to the prominent leaders of the Confederacy. It does not appear, however, in any way, that Mr. Blair sought or took advantage of the courtesies which he received. His visits, however, did indeed encourage the hope that subjugation with military force could be averted, a result which was generally regarded as a calamity to be followed by the total overthrow of all liberties.

Looking into Washington at the same period for insight into influences employed against this mission, there appeared two movements—one in Congress and the other from without—which obstructed the pending negotiations. That which occurred in Congress and so fully described in the work of the Hon. S. S. Cox, "Three Decades in Federal Legislation," was the sudden resurrection, January 6, 1865, of the Thirteenth amendment to the Constitution which had been slumbering on the table since the last Presidential campaign. Mr. Cox says of this amendment that "it was a part of the program for strengthening the Federal cause. Mr. Seward and the President considered it worth an army. Whether they were right or not the amendment was not pressed until just before the negotiations at Hampton Roads." It was bruited around Washington about the first of January that Blair was entertaining the President with a scheme by which it was proposed to terminate the awful strife of North and South by negotiations with the "insurgents." It was time, therefore, to interpose some obstacle which would make the Confederacy unwilling to negotiate. The Thirteenth amendment would accomplish the purpose. It was therefore called up, and pressed with vehemence while the great peace mission of Mr. Blair was pending, and was yet more warmly urged when the commissioners from President Davis were actually seeking access to the President of the Union. Mr. Pendleton, Mr. Voorhees, and other statesmen, opposed the amendment because they doubted its constitutionality. Mr. Cox opposed its consideration then as being inopportune. The rumor

was abroad, said he, that "a commissioner of the United States was then in Richmond (Mr. Blair) with the confidence and assent of the administration to meet a commissioner on the part of the Confederate authority, and that they had agreed to call a national convention in correspondence with the Chicago platform." Mr. Cox did not doubt the power to make this amendment, but he urged with great force the impropriety of raising this impediment to peace. Said he: "So long as there is a faint hope of a returning Union I will not place obstacles in the path. I would rather illuminate, cheer and clear the pathway to the old homestead. All I do and all I forbear to do is to save our imperiled government and restore our priceless Union. Show me that, and I will vote for your amendment. But, as it stands to-day, I believe that this amendment may be an obstacle to the rehabilitation of the States."

This debate went on while Mr. Blair was prosecuting his plan of negotiations. He had returned to President Davis, delivered to him the letter of President Lincoln and on the 18th of January was again in Washington. Immediately after he left, President Davis called Vice-President Stephens into his counsel, informed him concerning all that had passed, and having his concurrence as to the main fact that a commission should be sent to Washington, appointed as that commission Mr. Stephens, Mr. Campbell and Mr. Hunter. These gentlemen proceeded at once on their embassy and reached the headquarters of General Grant on the day that the decisive hour arrived on which the amendment was pressed to vote.

"Every radical was in his seat and for the amendment." The majority favored its passage. But a minority insisted that it was designed to defeat, and would defeat, the peace which Confederate commissioners were at that moment seeking. It is strangely true that at that hour "high officials stated that no further negotiations were possible; that so Mr. Blair had reported, who had just

come from Richmond." The President's private secretary declared that he knew of no such commission. The President himself wrote a note, January 31, 1865, to Mr. Ashley, the mover of the amendment, that he knew "of no such commission or negotiation." Mr. Cox excused these singular declarations from high quarters, but was so well convinced that they were mistaken as to cast his vote against the amendment which in his opinion was perilous to peace. "It was an obstacle, as it turned out," he says, "notwithstanding Mr. Seward's belief that it was an aid." It is to be noted as a significant circumstance that the amendment passed while General Grant was detaining the commissioners by special instructions from Washington, that it was promptly approved, that the interview of the commissioners was then allowed, and that they were quickly confronted with the embarrassing information that this amendment to abolish slavery had passed. Even that, however, did not drive them back to Richmond.

Another influence which contributed to blight the budding promise of the flower of peace, was the anxious gathering of partisans at Washington to prevent such a collapse of war. One of these obstructionists, Mr. Henry Ward Beecher, was a fair representative of that class of radicals who were in perpetual dread lest the goodness of Mr. Lincoln would in some way be the undoing of their cause. He came and thus tells his own story: He had been in England and returned in 1864 to find that "there was some talk," as he says, "of compromise with the South. Mr. Blair had told the President that he was satisfied if he could be put in communication with some of the leading men of the South, in some way or other, that some benefit would accrue. Lincoln had sent a delegate to meet Alexander Stephens and that was all the North knew. We were all very much excited over that," said Mr. Beecher. "The war had lasted so long, and I was

afraid Lincoln would be anxious for peace, and I was afraid he would accept something that would be of advantage to the South, so I went to Washington and called upon him. I said to him, 'Mr. Lincoln, I come to know whether the public interest will permit you to explain to me what this Southern commission means.' He went to his little secretary, and came out and handed me a little card as long as my finger and an inch wide, and on that was written, 'You will pass the bearer through the lines. A. LINCOLN.' 'There,' he said, 'that is all there is of it. Now, Blair thinks something can be done, but I don't, but I have no objection to have him try his hand. He has no authority whatever but to go and see what he can do.'"

All efforts to restrain Mr. Blair, or to prevent the Confederate President from making another attempt at negotiation, entirely failed. Notwithstanding all disadvantages he appointed a commission from which resulted the Hampton Roads conference, as history designates the informal conversation between the Confederate commissioners, as heretofore named, on the one part, and President Lincoln and Mr. Seward on the other part, which was held on board a United States steamer in Hampton Roads, February, 1865. It will be seen on review of the entire history of the event that the United States carefully and firmly held all advantages in the conference while admitting the commissioners to an interview. This is made evident by the following facts: It appears that Mr. Blair left Washington for Richmond without the privilege of a final conversation with the President which might give color to any rumor that he went by authority. Without credentials or instructions his visit to Richmond was to present his own plan, gain knowledge of the mind of Mr. Davis, ascertain the temper of Confederate leaders, and to close his work without committing Mr. Lincoln to anything whatever. The letters to himself which he procured from President Davis first, and next from President Lincoln, were dangerous

documents, but the Federal President wrote briefly, avoiding the slightest reference to Mr. Davis as an official, and only noticing his letter as coming from an influential insurgent. So far as receiving an agent was concerned it was of no consequence to the Federal President whether he came from President Davis or any other influential person engaged in resisting the Federal authority. He was even so particular as to rebuke the harmless words, "two countries," as used by the Confederate President, and to require Mr. Blair to bear witness to that particular fact. After the three "influential persons" appointed as Confederate commissioners were on the way towards Washington, he also so far ignored their business as to declare on January 31st, that he knew of "no commission and no negotiations," evidently meaning that he did not look upon them as the commissioners of any government. The interchange of official telegrams between the civil and the military authorities from January 29th further show an absurd continuance of all this trivial caution, while the modes adopted to let these "persons" come on without their presence having any significance, were too puerile to have so seriously engaged the attention of the secretary of state and the secretary of war who had contrived them. Then again, in further purpose to allow no possible equality in the conference to be considered, and no official character to exist, the influential trio were first to be interviewed and their dignity lessened by a mere messenger from the President. They were then required to say to this messenger in writing that they were coming only to have an informal colloquy, and finally to signify, before they could get any further, that they fully understood the ultimatum of President Lincoln. The commissioners had expected to go to Washington, as Mr. Blair had been to Richmond, but they were met aboard a United States steamer with no one to hear them but President Lincoln and Mr. Seward, his secretary of state. Keeping in view these circumstances under which the

Confederate States President sought for peace, the detailed account of the famous Hampton Roads conference will be interesting.

The following events re-stated with their dates will show the progress of this peace movement and assist in understanding it: On December 28th, the pass of President Lincoln was delivered to Mr. Blair; December 30th, President Davis received Mr. Blair's request to visit Richmond, which was immediately granted; January 12, 1865, the first interview between Davis and Blair took place, at the conclusion of which the letter already quoted was written; January 18th, the letter of Lincoln to Blair, written to be read by Davis, was delivered, with which the peacemaker went back to Richmond; January 21st, the second conference took place between Blair and Davis, after which Blair returned to Washington. Davis consulted Stephens, and the three commissioners, Stephens, Campbell and Hunter were appointed. The commission or certificate of appointment signed by Mr. Davis for the guidance of these statesmen read simply that "in conformity with the letter of Mr. Lincoln of which the foregoing is a copy, you are requested to proceed to Washington City for an informal conference with him upon the issues involved in the existing war, and for the purpose of securing peace to the two countries." The use of the words "two countries" instead of "two governments" was discreetly and delicately made by the Confederate President in avoidance of any question which might be raised by the Washington administration, the "country" being a region, a territory, a people and their institutions, while a "government" is a body politic, governed by one authority. In fact the point was considered by the United States officials and fully waived. Rumor went out after the fall of the Confederacy and continued afloat for many years, notwithstanding its refutation, that the commissioners were trammeled by imperative instructions which required them to treat only on the basis of

independence, and that in consequence of these instructions their mission failed. This rumor had its origin in the disappointments and sufferings which followed the dissolution of the Confederacy, but afterward was used in justification of the action of the United States authorities at Hampton Roads, and in derogation of the character of President Davis. The certificate, however, as Mr. Davis calls it, contained nothing more than is above quoted, and aside from what is there written no instructions were given. On this question Mr. Stephens says: "The reports were utterly unworthy of notice. * * * We had no written instructions upon that subject, or any other except what were contained in the letter of appointment, nor any verbal instructions on that subject inconsistent with the terms of that letter." With considerable emphasis Mr. Stephens repeated the statements contained in his "War Between the States" through a public letter in 1874, saying again "there were no instructions whatever given by Mr. Davis to the commissioners as to the terms on which they should agree to treat upon the subject of peace." The report of the commissioners explains fully why their efforts failed, and each has with some indignation resented the imputation on their judgment in accepting a trust with conditions which, as alleged, barred its execution. In President Lincoln's brief explanation to Congress of the conference, he remarks that it was not said by the other party that in any event or any condition they ever would consent to reunion, and "yet they equally omitted to declare that they never would so consent." This omission itself entirely refutes the rumor and no declarations of President Davis were needed to show that such terms were included in this remarkable commission which was entrusted to three eminently wise, discreet and patriotic men. As became his office, the Confederate President certainly desired, even passionately, to secure the success of the secession ordained by the States. Independence out of the Union because their

constitutional equality in it was imperiled was the simple object aimed at in the formation of the Confederacy, to attain which all energies were directed. Even in January, 1865, this object was not considered by Mr. Davis, Mr. Stephens and the large majority of the Confederate Congress, as unattainable. Neither the army nor the citizens of the South were ready for unconditional submission and they would have been astounded by any instructions to the commissioners to surrender without terms before striking another blow for independence. Mr. Davis says in a public letter in reference to his sense of official responsibility, "I do not know how any one could have expected me, under the trust which I held from the people of the Confederate States, to propose to surrender at discretion the rights and liberties for which the best and bravest of the land were still gallantly struggling, and for which so many had nobly died." The testimony clearly disposes of the rumor concerning instructions, and after this examination of it a further view of events may be taken of the history of the Hampton Roads conference.

On the 29th of January the commissioners, having reached that part of the Federal front which was occupied by the Ninth army corps, made their presence and business known with request to cross the lines at once on their way to Washington. After passing the military channel of communication their note reached the Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton, and the same day was at once referred to President Lincoln, and at the same time General Ord, commanding at the front during General Grant's temporary absence, was directed by the secretary of war not to allow the commissioners to enter the lines unless by instructions from the President. On January 30th President Lincoln telegraphed General Ord, through Secretary Stanton, to inform the "three gentlemen, Messrs. Stephens, Hunter and Campbell, that a messenger will be dispatched to them at or near where they now are

without unnecessary delay." The messenger to be sent was Major Thomas T. Eckert, who was given very precise instructions to first secure from the commissioners an agreement in writing that if they are allowed to pass through the United States military lines it will be understood that they do so for the purpose of an informal conference on the basis of the letter dated January 18th, of Mr. Lincoln to Mr. Blair. General Grant, however, had returned to the army and had received direct another application on January 30th, by the commissioners to pass his lines under safe conduct, and without waiting for directions from Washington directed them to be received at his headquarters and await instructions. This unexpected action caused President Lincoln to telegraph to Grant to detain the gentlemen in comfortable quarters, and meanwhile Major Eckert reached him with a special dispatch to have an interview secured between himself and the Confederate commissioners. Mr. Seward followed on the 31st, bearing explicit instructions from the President to make known to them that three things are indispensable, to-wit: (1) the restoration of the national authority throughout all the States; (2) no receding by the executive of the United States on the slavery question from the position assumed thereon in the late annual message to Congress; (3) no cessation of hostilities short of an end of the war, and the disbanding of all forces hostile to the government. They were to be informed that all propositions of theirs not inconsistent with the above would be considered and passed in a spirit of sincere liberality, but Mr. Seward was commanded not to definitely consummate anything. This letter of instructions was given on the afternoon of January 31st, at the time when the Thirteenth amendment was on its passage in Congress, and it was followed early next morning, February 1st, by a telegram to Grant from Lincoln—"Let nothing which is transpiring change, hinder or delay your military movements or plans." Another dispatch of the same date re-

quired Major Eckert to place himself under direction of Mr. Seward, who reached Fortress Monroe on the evening of that day. Major Eckert had already communicated with the commissioners the terms on which they might remain within the lines on their mission, but Mr. Stephens and his associates regarded this reception of their overtures as designedly contrived to embarrass if not to humiliate them. They placed their case again directly before General Grant, who checked the President in a resolution hastily formed to recall Seward with Eckert, by a telegram on the night of February 1st, in which he informed the President of his fear that the return of the commissioners without a hearing would have a bad influence; that he was satisfied of their good intentions and their sincere desire to restore peace and union, and he suggested an interview between them and Lincoln himself. This dispatch of General Grant changed the President's purpose, and the commissioners having further considered their situation signed the terms prescribed for their admission to the conference. The President resolving now to be present in person at the conference came to Hampton Roads where he joined Secretary Seward on the night of the 2nd and next day received the commissioners on board a steamer.

The conference took place February 3, 1865, to the result of which two countries at least were looking with great solicitude, but the history of what was said and done can be gathered alone from the earliest accounts of it given carefully to the world by all the five great actors; since by agreement not a line was written in the conference room nor a witness admitted to be present. The distinguished parties themselves have all spoken and from these sources the record is made. It appears that the first words bearing on the objects of the meeting were uttered by Mr. Stephens in the form of a question addressed to President Lincoln, whether there was any way to put an end to the present trouble. To this broad

and significant inquiry the President at once replied that there was but one way that he knew of and that was for those who were resisting the laws of the Union to cease that resistance. But Mr. Stephens sought again to know if there was no plan on which existing hostilities might cease and the attention of both parties be turned from the questions involved in the strife and diverted to some great common aim which might lead to the restoration of the Union.

The evident allusion of the second question to the plan of Mr. Blair to divert the two armies into an invasion of Mexico, which the Confederate commissioners themselves did not favor, brought from the President a distinct disavowal of having given Mr. Blair an authority to speak for him and an earnest declaration that he could entertain no proposition for ceasing active military operations which was not based upon a pledge first given for the ultimate restoration of the Union. The Confederate commissioners had not expected such an immediate and flat statement, and were without authority or inclination to give a pledge unaccompanied with any understanding whatever as to the course the United States would pursue toward the States and the people of the South in respect to their lives, property and local government. Judge Campbell therefore interposed at this point with a direct inquiry as to the plan on which the re-establishment of national authority would take place in the event the South agreed to the general terms as stated by Mr. Lincoln, thus presenting a question which the commissioners had previously considered as one to be asked, provided the armistice should be refused. It was, in fact, the precise pivot on which the issue could be made to turn toward peace with a Union promptly restored, or war with distraction long continued. It was reasonable beyond all question that these three eminent statesmen should have the fair, explicit and reliable answer from President Lincoln:—that secession be abandoned, that

the Thirteenth amendment be added to the Constitution, or at least be fairly voted upon by all the States; that the Federal civil authority be completely restored in all respects everywhere; that the seceded States repeal for legal reasons the ordinances of secession and resume fully by their own immediate action their constitutional relations in the Union; that general amnesty be proclaimed and all minor legal questions be remanded to the judiciary for adjustment. Whether these terms would have been agreed to so that they could have been satisfactorily executed is not known, yet if they had been sincerely agreed on and honorably carried out by the rapid method of State conventions, the political as well as the military disturbances between the sections would have ended within a few months. But they were not offered.

Upon several of these questions intimations were made which very nearly approached all that the Confederate commissioners could have demanded. As to the abandonment of secession that was positively required by the President. The ratification by the States of the Thirteenth amendment was taken into discussion during which the President with caution expressed an individual willingness on his own part to be taxed to remunerate the Southern people for their slaves and that he should be in favor individually of the government paying a fair indemnity for the loss to the owners. He knew of some persons who favored an appropriation of four hundred millions for that purpose. But he declared that he would give no assurance and make no stipulation. Mr. Seward accepted this general intimation of the President that the Northern people would be willing to pay about the amount as an indemnity to the owners of emancipated slaves, which would be required to continue the war. To this extent and no farther went even the hint of compensated emancipation. There was no offer either express or implied by the President and his secretary of state to guarantee such a result, and the commissioners under-

stood the intimation as a vague suggestion on which they could base no proposition. Their action was accordingly unaffected by it, nor were they trammeled in any degree by instructions which prevented their consideration of it. The abolition of slavery they clearly understood to be one of the terms of peace, especially since Congress had at this particular juncture passed the necessary amendment to enforce the emancipation proclamation, from which Mr. Lincoln plainly stated he would not recede; but they were not invited to trust that negro property would be paid for upon the abandonment of secession. No part of the accounts given by any of the parties to the Hampton Roads conference authorized this view.

But still more important to the South and the Union itself than slaves or their value was the question of the status of the States and people of the States upon surrender by negotiation. What position would the States of the South occupy on their abandonment of secession? To what extent would the Federal majority assume the attitude of a conqueror? To this vital question the President answered as to his own opinion the States would be restored to their practical relations to the Union, but said emphatically he could not enter into any stipulations upon the subject, and in reply to the urgency of Mr. Stephens on this matter "persisted in asserting that he could not enter into any agreement upon this subject or upon any other matters of that sort with parties in arms against the government." Mr. Stephens still insisted that if the President could issue a proclamation of emancipation as a war measure of doubtful constitutionality he could certainly enter into a stipulation to preserve the statehood of the States and carry it out as a war measure also; but on the exhaustion of all suggestions the President still returned firmly to his first and only proposition—an unconditional surrender of the States and their people. Not the slightest deviation from this was admissible.

The conference had reached the line where it seems the

Southern commissioners would have taken a step committing their government to dissolution without another battle, provided only they had been fully and frankly assured by authority to be trusted that the Union even without slavery would be at once re-established, the States with all their rightful relations restored, the people of the South protected, the Constitution respected and sectionalism ended forever. But around the form of the President was the portentous shadow of the radical war cloud, an influence that he could not withstand at that time. His ultimatum was dictated by a fierce policy that does not clearly appear to have been his own, and even his hint that he would temper wrath with mercy was given with qualifications. He could give no assurances, make no stipulations, enter into no agreement, and have no understanding as to the result of surrender.

The commissioners returned to Richmond and made their report, with which every one was disappointed, and, says Mr. Stephens, "no one more so than Mr. Davis." The Confederate President transmitted the report to Congress and all plans for negotiation being thwarted addressed himself to the means at his disposal for defending the South by arms.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE SITUATION IN 1865.

MILITARY DISPARITIES—WISE ON THE PART OF THE SOUTH TO REFUSE UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER—WHY THE FINAL FIGHT WAS MADE—CLOSELY ALLIED MILITARY AND CIVIL EVENTS—LAST MESSAGE OF PRESIDENT DAVIS TO CONGRESS—LAST ACTS OF CONGRESS—PATRIOTIC ACT OF VIRGINIA AND OTHER STATES—GRANT BREAKS THE LINES AT LAST—RICHMOND EVACUATED—THE PRESIDENT AND CABINET MOVE TO NORTH CAROLINA AND GEORGIA—CAPTURE OF THE PRESIDENT—ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT LINCOLN—MALICIOUS PROSECUTION OF PRESIDENT DAVIS—THE DISSOLUTION OF THE CONFEDERATE STATES OF AMERICA.

THE military situation of the Confederacy in 1865 must be considered in connection with the effort made by its leaders on behalf of peace, as previously related. From the most available data it is ascertained that the total of the Confederate troops in and around Richmond and Petersburg present for duty February 20, 1865, was in round numbers 57,000 of all arms and branches of service. Of this total 45,567 were infantry, the remainder cavalry and artillery. From this date losses occurred which could not be replaced and at the time of Grant's final and successful assault Lee had in his line of thirty-five miles only about 38,000 infantry. The cavalry were reduced to a small body mounted mainly on broken-down horses. This estimate is made on the reports of the army of Northern Virginia, also the conclusions of Major-General Humphreys of the Federal army and of Swinton, the Northern historian. The United

States secretary of war, Mr. Stanton, reports that Grant's available force at the same period, March 1, 1865, was 162,239. According to General Humphrey's calculations Grant's total on the morning of his final assault on Lee's lines was 124,700 present for duty, equipped in line of battle. This is exclusive of officers, details, sick and non-combatants. The fairest comparison of forces at that time, March 31, 1865, is made by the respective reports of both armies, which show in round numbers on the Confederate side 38,000 muskets, 5,000 artillery, 3,000 cavalry, 46,000 effectives as the highest total, and on the Federal side 125,000 as the lowest available total in actual line of battle. Thus it appears indisputable that Grant had three lines of battle each the equal of one under command of Lee. He was enabled thereby to cover Lee's entire front with a line as strong as his own and still could move two nearly equally strong armies on his flanks. With this advantage on the morning of April 1, 1865, the attack was made by three men against one, and at the close of the day that ratio was largely increased through Confederate losses.

This, however, was not the only disparity between the two armies. Perhaps no armies had been so well equipped as those which Grant commanded in his advance on Richmond during 1864, but the preparation for the final assault in 1865 exceeded all equipment which had been made during the war. Lee had met these armies through the preceding years with constantly decreasing numbers and daily diminishing supplies. Hence his army was in all extremities from the 1st of January, 1865.

Thus it appears even from the military situation around Richmond that the Confederate States government had now no adequate military support, and its attempts to negotiate a peace on terms which ought to be understood before surrender had wholly failed. Its life, like that of every other civil government, was dependent upon military resources. Its civil authority was obeyed indeed to the

last by its patriotic people because they loved the government itself and respected their noble leaders. But while all the functions of the great civil government were in complete operation as to its own people wherever the army of invasion had not obtained possession of the territory, yet there was a total deficiency of resources to withstand the military forces pressing from without against the life of the new Republic. Still it was considered wise as well as brave to continue in the struggle. Surrender immediately after the Hampton Roads conference—an unconditional surrender such as Mr. Lincoln flatly proposed with reliance upon only such liberal treatment as the radical Congress would allow—would have been forever questionable. Its consequences no one can declare. Such a surrender in March, 1865, would have been the submission of one to three in numbers ready for battle, and at least one to ten in the general sinews of war, a disproportion ordinarily warranting capitulation, but that preponderance was not regarded as such a reason for unconditional surrender as could be accepted by the people of the South or the intelligent people of other nations. There were many able men who foresaw the approaching disaster, and who regarded the defeat of the Confederacy as inevitable, but their prevision was founded on theory. Their reasoning was indeed logical, and their predictions were literally fulfilled, but it was necessary to show not by theory, not by argument, but by a fact which all the people South and North would clearly understand, that the South was beaten beyond remedy by the overwhelming superiority of its opponents. Appomattox and Bentonville made this demonstration. Ten thousand men whose commissariat had been collapsed twenty-four hours leaving them without rations, but who moved in line of battle on the morning of April 9th to beat out of their way one hundred thousand other men, each of which mighty host was well-fed, well-armed, well-rested and all buoyant with the victories of the past

few days—this picture settled the question. "The South lost all but honor," is therefore a phrase her orators can repeat with pride through all the ages. "Fought to a frazzle" was the graphic word Gordon sent to Lee, only a few hours before actual surrender, which determines the time when the proud spirit yields to physical force. "We wore ourselves out whipping you," said a Southerner in quick reply to a Northern inquirer as to the reasons why the cause was lost.

But aside from the necessity to preserve the self-respect of those valiant Americans of the South who were the equals of all others in the government to which they surrendered, it was not expedient to leave the readjustment of the Union to the sentimental liberality which political partisans might choose to affect. There was no partisan liberality needed and there was no ground nor call for magnanimity. The crushing of the gallant armies which had fought to the last left all the great principles of our government unsurrendered. Nothing passed away but slavery—which itself was not a principle, but only a dispensable feature in the government of the United States and of the Confederate States. Nothing visible was surrendered except the worthless arms and worn out property of the Confederate army. Even slavery was extinguished by the civil process of Constitutional amendments by the States; and the right of secession, which New England people so early and fondly cherished, came to be denied to them even by the post-bellum action of the Southern people. The vast armies which invaded the South returned enriched only by relics gathered in their campaigns and the civil government of the Union had gained no power to oppress any section.

It is well that all this is true. It is best that no treaty stipulations immediately after Hampton Roads conference were entered into which could involve our free principles or betray the nation into reliance on that treaty as a supplement to the constitution. As the question stood at the

end of the battle strife, the law remained regnant instead of a discretionary power. The tyrannical dogma of military necessity was at once abrogated. Readjustment must therefore be made legally and constitutionally or it would not stand. Reconstruction or any plan that deprived intelligent, law-abiding citizens of the South of their power in the Nation would involve its projectors as the unrighteous subverters of government in an odium from which there can be no recovery. The preservation of the liberties for which the Union was at first formed demanded obedience by the North which had conquered, as well as by the South which had been subjugated. That duty of obedience to the fundamental truths on which our government is founded remained unchallenged when the last Confederate soldier gave up his gun.

It was for this great result that the final fight was made. This saving of the Southern equality in the Union, and at the same time the saving of the North from the evils that would come to it from any agreement which gave them authority to dominate any part of the Union, was surely an achievement which gave to Appomattox a glory in defeat greater than the glory even of First Manassas, where such a superb victory was won. The blood which brave men shed in March and April, 1865, was not poured in vain. North and South have gained alike by the last sacrifices of the Confederate people. Free government by a firm Constitution and wise statute law is not lost. The seceded States returned to the Union, but surrendered no right of man by treaty with a superior power — as they had suffered no dishonor in defeat upon the battle field.

Resuming consideration of closely allied military and civic events we see that on the third of March, the day preceding the inauguration of President Lincoln for the second term, he instructed General Grant through the secretary of war to have no conference with General Lee unless for the capitulation of his army or some purely

military matter, which order was probably given because of the report that Lee was seeking a conference with Grant to arrange for an honorable peace. The military convention, which many trusted in as a mode by which the two great commanders could bring war to a close, did not enjoy the favor of Secretary Stanton. Military operations consequently became more decidedly vigorous immediately after the inauguration, the Confederacy on its part exhausting every source from which its armies could be recruited or supplied, and the United States pouring from its abundance whatever the armies of Grant required. Lee had well matured plans both for meeting battle along his lines around Richmond and for retreating further into the interior. Grant naturally expecting that his sagacious foe would attempt to elude him if resistance became futile, provided all means at his command to make defense disastrous and retreat impossible. Fighting along the line with constant extensions beyond the Confederate front occupied the month of March, and it was in the midst of these military movements that President Davis sent in his last message to the Confederate Congress, March 13th, very near the day of its adjournment, but not a line of it betrays to the public the uncertainty of the imminent issue. The perils of the Confederacy were frankly stated in the message, but the President proceeded with suggestions for maintaining Confederate independence. He proposed that two millions in coin be raised for purchasing army supplies, that revenue measures be adopted, impressment of provisions and clothing be regulated, that a general militia law be enacted and that the privilege of the writ of habeas corpus be suspended. Once more he repeated the account of the efforts made to stop the war by any form of negotiations and made in vain, since the administration at Washington had declined peremptorily every plan presented except the one of unconditional submission. "There remains then for use no choice but to continue this contest to a

final issue." The Confederate Congress delayed its adjournment beyond the appointed time, at the President's request, and with some modifications converted his suggestions into laws. One act provided for raising coin to furnish necessary supplies for the army, and generous Virginia advanced at once $300,000 in specie for that purpose. The banks in other States were likewise put in readiness to meet the requisition. A general militia law was also enacted, and after considerable hesitation authority was given to suspend the writ of habeas corpus in certain cases for a limited time. Then Congress adjourned the latter part of March to assemble no more.

Only a few days later Grant broke Lee's lines, forcing his retreat and causing the removal of the Confederate government from Richmond. The surrender of Lee's army at Appomattox and of the army of General Johnston in North Carolina quickly followed. President Davis having gone into North Carolina, understood the situation of the civil government and expressed to his Attorney-General, George Davis, his conception that he was himself now more of a soldier than anything else. In answer to the inquiry of the attorney-general whether it was possible to serve him officially any further, the President replied on April 25, 1865: "It is gratifying to me to be assured that you are willing at any personal sacrifice to share my fortunes when they are least promising. * * * It is due to such generous friendship that I should candidly say to you that it is not probable that for some time to come your services will be needful. * * * Should you decide (my situation having become rather that of a soldier than a civil magistrate) to retire from my cabinet, my sincere wishes for your welfare and happiness will follow you."

Notwithstanding its precarious situation the Confederate States had still a legal existence although its military support was gone. Every State ordinance of secession was still in force. The Constitution of the Confederate

States still evidenced the compact by which the States had confederated. The State governments under that Constitution were still operating except where they were obstructed by military authority. Jefferson Davis was still President and commander-in-chief. His cabinet in part, as far as he required, were with him, and a small military body was detailed to escort him. Thus he passed through South Carolina into Georgia, held his last cabinet council in Washington, Georgia, and then, anxious for the safety of his family, pushed on westward designing to cross the Mississippi river. While thus seeking to reach the western Confederacy Mr. Davis was captured, imprisoned, bound in chains and closely guarded.

In the meantime a most deplorable event happened in the unexpected assassination of President Lincoln, concerning which it may be earnestly said that all verbal resentment of that crime was paralyzed by the inexpressible horror of it. The shame of it still disgraces the continent. It was a disreputable American event, when the elected head of a free people fell by the hand of an assassin whose lips profaned a sacred State motto in the very act of hideous murder. Complicity with such a crime could only occur among demons of the most vicious class, and it is unthinkable by any brain untempered by hate and unswayed by excitement that men of established good fame would share with the chief criminal the guilt of a murder so hurtful to public interests, so foul in its motive, so base in its execution. Not far away from the guiltiness of actual complicity with this chief crime of the American continent lies the guiltiness of the slanderers who falsely accused innocent men of aiding and abetting this desperate deed. It is not easy to distinguish between the offense by which the innocent Lincoln lost his valuable life and the offense of the attempt to murder the character and then take the life of the innocent Davis. Much mitigation, however, of the offense against justice at this moment, when a whole land was in a storm of

passion on account of the enormous crime of Booth, must be admitted. Some cool men were for the hour set aflame. Some fair men were borne out on the wave of public resentment to speak and act unjustly. But it cannot be conceived that many men of reason and reflection joined and remained in the view that such men as Jefferson Davis and Clement C. Clay were in any respect accessory to the assassination of Mr. Lincoln. In fact, such men very soon recovered themselves and protected the national honor against the projectors of the shame of an effort to connect President Davis and other Confederate leaders with the assassin and his guilt. Soon after his arrest Mr. Davis was shown the proclamation of Andrew Johnson, accusing him of being accessory to the murder of President Lincoln, and he at once said to the United States officer who had him in charge, "There is one man who knows that this proclamation is false, and he is the man who signed it, for he knows that I preferred President Lincoln to himself." President Davis again said in referring to one very important bearing of the assassination, that "but for the untimely death of Mr. Lincoln the agreement between Generals Sherman and Johnston would have been ratified and the wounds inflicted on civil liberty by the reconstruction measures might not have left their shameful scars on the United States." In small atonement for this gross blunder the accusation was soon abandoned.

CONCLUSION.

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The Confederate States of America soon ceased to exist. The overthrow and disbanding of its armies destroyed its belligerency; its civil authority becoming scattered and powerless could not operate, and therefore its position as a government de facto became untenable; what it still was de jure on account of the demands of Constitutional law was practically determined by the necessary resort to State action for the abrogation of the secession ordinances, also to State consent to the Constitutional amendments then proposed. Thus it was dissolved by war and by the action of the States which had formed it. The Confederacy had won the encomium of eminent publicists as having the best form of Constitutional government the world ever saw. Its administration had been able, humane, and considerate of the common welfare. Its leaders were among the most intellectual, cultured and patriotic of mankind. Its people enjoyed the highest civilization, and its soldiers were as brave as any legions ever led in patriotic war. It now ceased to have political existence, but remaining as a memory of noble things; well deserving the esteem which great nations gave it, and the fame which history preserves.

The course to be pursued in restoring all the States to their true relations in the Union was indicated by the Constitution of the United States, and this method was so obvious to the Southern seceded States that they proceeded at once to resume their practical duties which the Union under the Constitution required. Unfortunately, a theory of Reconstruction was adopted by Congress, in the place of Restoration, which led to consequences deplored by the best citizens of the whole country.

This history, however, closes without entering upon the period of Reconstruction. It concludes in concurrence with the familiar encomium on the Confederate government by an Englishman of distinction:

"No nation ever rose so white and fair,
None fell so pure of crime."

BIOGRAPHICAL

OFFICERS OF CIVIL AND MILITARY ORGANIZATIONS.

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Jefferson Davis was born June 3, 1808, in that portion of Christian county, Kentucky, which was afterwards set off as Todd county. His grandfather was a colonist from Wales, living in Virginia and Maryland, and rendering important public service to those southern colonies. His father, Samuel Emory Davis, and his uncles, were all Revolutionary soldiers in 1776. Samuel Davis served during the Revolution partly with Georgia cavalry and was also in the siege of Savannah as an officer in the infantry. He is described as a young officer of gentle and engaging address, as well as remarkable daring in battle. Three brothers of Jefferson Davis, all older than himself, fought in the war of 1812, two of them serving directly with Andrew Jackson, and gaining from that great soldier special mention of their gallantry in the battle of New Orleans.

Samuel Davis, after the Revolution removed to Kentucky, resided there a few years and then changed his home to Wilkinson county, Mississippi. Jefferson Davis received his academic education in early boyhood at home, and was then sent to Transylvania university in Kentucky, where he remained until 1824, the sixteenth year of his age. During that year he was appointed by President Monroe to West Point military academy as a cadet. A class-mate at West Point said of him, "he was distinguished in his corps for manly bearing and high-toned and lofty character. His figure was very soldier-like and rather robust; his step springy, resembling the tread of an Indian 'brave' on the war-path." He was graduated June, 1828, at twenty years of age, assigned

at once to the First infantry and commissioned on the same day brevet second-lieutenant and second-lieutenant. His first active service in the United States army was at posts in the North-west from 1828 to 1833. The Black-hawk war occurring in 1831, his regiment was engaged in several of its battles, in one of which the Indian chieftain, Blackhawk, was captured and placed in the charge of Lieutenant Davis; and it is stated that the heart of the Indian captive was won by the kind treatment he received from the young officer who held him prisoner. In 1833, March 4th, Lieutenant Davis was transferred to a new regiment called the First Dragoons, with promotion to the rank of first-lieutenant, and was appointed adjutant. For about two years following this promotion he had active service in various encounters with the Pawnees, Comanches and other tribes.

His sudden and surprising resignation occurred June 30, 1835, with an immediate entrance upon the duties of civil life. His uncle and other attached friends were averse to his continuance in military life, believing that he was unusually qualified to achieve distinction in a civil career. For some time he hesitated and then yielded to their wishes. Perhaps also the attractions of Miss Sallie Knox Taylor, daughter of Zachary Taylor, commanding the First infantry, to whom he became affianced, contributed to the decision. The marriage between them has been often spoken of inaccurately as an elopement, but it was solemnized at the house of the bride's aunt, near Louisville, Kentucky. Mr. Davis now became a cotton planter in Warren county at the age of twenty-seven, and while engaging successfully in this pursuit he devoted much of his time to studies that would prepare him for public life. His first appearance in political strife on a general field was in the gubernatorial canvass of 1843. He was sent as a delegate to the Democratic convention of that year and made such impressions by his speeches as to cause a demand for his services on the

hustings. In 1844 his abilities were again in requisition as an elector for Polk and Dallas. In this canvass he took a firm position for strict construction, the protection of States from Federal encroachment, and incidentally advocated the annexation of Texas. The reputation which he made during this year as a statesman of the State rights school bore him into the Congress of the United States as the representative of Mississippi from his congressional district. Mr. Davis took his seat in Congress December 8, 1845, at a period when certain great questions were in issue, and with only a brief and commendable delay, took a foremost place in the discussions. The Oregon question, the tariff, the Texas question, were all exciting issues. It is especially noticeable in view of his after life that in these debates he evinced a devotion to the union and glory of his country in eloquent speeches, and in a consistent line of votes favorable to his country's growth in greatness. One of his earliest efforts in Congress was to convert certain forts into schools of instruction for the military of the States. His support of the "war policy," as the Texas annexation measure was sometimes designated, was ardent and unwavering, in the midst of which he was elected colonel of the First Mississippi regiment of riflemen. His decision to re-enter military life was quickly carried into effect by resignation of his place in Congress June, 1846, and the joining of his regiment at New Orleans, which he conducted to the army of General Taylor on the Rio Grande. He had succeeded in arming his regiment with percussion rifles, prepared a manual and tactics for the new arm, drilled his officers and men diligently in its use, and thus added to Taylor's force perhaps the most effective regiment in his little army. He led his well disciplined command in a gallant and successful charge at Monterey, September 21, 1846, winning a brilliant victory in the assault on Fort Teneria. For several days afterwards his

regiment, united with Tennesseeans, drove the Mexicans from their redoubts with such gallantry that their leader won the admiration and confidence of the entire army. At Buena Vista the riflemen and Indiana volunteers under Davis evidently turned the course of battle into victory for the Americans by a bold charge under heavy fire against a larger body of Mexicans. It was immediately on this brilliant success that a fresh brigade of Mexican lancers advanced against the Mississippi regiment in full gallop and were repulsed by the formation of the line in the shape of the V, the flanks resting on ravines, thus exposing the lancers to a converging fire. Once more on that day the same regiment, now reduced in numbers by death and wounds, attacked and broke the Mexican right. During this last charge Colonel Davis was severely wounded, but remained on the field until the victory was won. General Taylor's dispatch of March 6, 1847, makes special complimentary mention of the courage, coolness and successful service of Colonel Davis and his command. The Mississippi regiment served out its term of enlistment, and was ordered home in July, 1847. President Polk appointed Colonel Davis brigadier-general, but he declined the commission on the ground that that appointment was unconstitutional.

In August, 1847, the governor of Mississippi appointed Mr. Jefferson Davis to the vacancy in the United States Senate caused by the death of Senator Speight, and he took his seat December 6, 1847. The legislature elected him in January for the remainder of the term, and subsequently he was re-elected for a full term. His senatorial career, beginning in December, 1847, extended over the eventful period of 1849 and 1850, in which the country was violently agitated by the questions arising on the disposition of the common territory, and into which the subject of slavery was forcibly injected. The compromise measures of 1850 proposed by Mr. Clay, and the plan of President Taylor's administration, were both designed

to settle the dangerous controversy, while extreme radicals opposed all compromise and denounced every measure that favored slavery in any respect. Senator Davis advocated the division of the western territory by an extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific ocean, because it had been once accepted as a settlement of the sectional question. A majority refused this mode of settlement. On this proposition to adhere to the old Missouri Compromise line of settlement the vote in the Senate was 24 yeas and 32 nays. All the yeas were cast by Southern senators. All nays were by Northern senators except Kentucky one, Missouri one and Delaware two. Mr. Davis thought that the political line of 36° 30′ had been at first objectionable on account of its establishing a geographical division of sectional interests, and was an assumption by Congress of a function not delegated to it, but the act had received such recognition through quasi-ratifications by the people of the States as to give it a value it did not originally possess. "Pacification had been the fruit borne by the tree, and it should not have been recklessly hewn down and cast in the fire." He regarded this destruction of the Missouri Compromise line in 1849-50 by Northern votes in Congress as dangerous to the peace of the country. In his opinion at that time the theory of popular sovereignty in the territories "was good enough in itself, and as an abstract proposition could not be gainsaid," but its practical operation, he feared, would introduce fierce territorial strife. He now saw very little in the compromise legislation of 1850 favorable to the Southern States. According to his view it "bore the impress of that sectional spirit so widely at variance with the general purposes of the Union and destructive of the harmony and mutual benefit which the Constitution was intended to secure." He did not believe the Northern States would respect any of its provisions which conflicted with their views and interests. His attitude, however, toward the

measures of Mr. Clay was not positively hostile, though it was emphatically distrustful. But during the perilous discussions of those times Mr. Davis did not align himself with any disunionists North or South. He says for himself, "My devotion to the Union of our fathers had been so often and so publicly declared; I had on the floor of the Senate so defiantly challenged any question of my fidelity to it; my services, civil and military, had now extended through so long a period and were so generally known, that I felt quite assured that no whisperings of envy or ill-will could lead the people of Mississippi to believe that I had dishonored their trust by using the power they had conferred on me to destroy the government to which I was accredited. Then, as afterward, I regarded the separation of the States as a great, though not the greater evil." The votes and speeches of Mr. Davis accorded with the instruction of the Mississippi legislature, and his public record is entirely consistent with this avowal of his devotion to the whole country and his patriotic desire to preserve it from the evils of fanaticism. Reference to this Union sentiment is not made in this sketch or elsewhere in this general work as apologetic in its bearings. But it is in rebuke of those careless or vicious statements often made against Mr. Davis and other Confederate leaders that they were for many years engaged in a conspiracy to break up the Union.

Senator Davis entered upon his new and full term as senator from Mississippi March 4, 1851, from which date there were before him six years of honor in the position he preferred to all others. There was a strong probability also that if living he would be continued in the Senate, since the Southern States were accustomed to the retaining of their eminent men in office. No man had less reason than himself for conspiracy against the government. With this advantage and under the influence of strongly conservative feeling he canvassed the State of Mississippi in 1851, bravely advocating the policy of de-

termined resistance to sectional aggressions, and insisting that the country should be defended from the perils of Congressional usurpation. His argument was that reverence for the constitutional reservations of power would alone save the Union, and upon this view he taught that statesmen who revered the Constitution most, loved the Union best. The overwhelming sentiment of Mississippi that year was to accept the compromise measures of 1850 as a finality, and consequently the State rights party which had been organized upon a vague platform proposing to devise some undefined method of securing guarantees against sectional usurpations, was defeated. Mississippi accordingly joined the other Southern States in acquiescence with the settlement of 1850 "as a finality."

The election for governor of the State was to occur later in the same year. Governor Quitman had been nominated for re-election, but his political antecedents so decidedly committed him to disunion as to imperil his success. Therefore he withdrew from the nomination, and Senator Davis was called on by the executive committee to take his place, because his conservative record accorded more nearly than Governor Quitman's with the recent ballot of the people. It was only six weeks to the day of the election, the State rights party had been lately beaten by a majority of over 7,000 votes, Davis was at that time too sick to leave home, and acceptance of the nomination required his resignation of the high office he then held secure for nearly six years. Nevertheless he accepted the trust, resigned the senatorial office and was defeated by less than one thousand votes. Mr. Davis retired for a short time to private life, from which he was called by President Pierce, who had been elected to the presidency in 1852. At first the tender of a place in the cabinet of the new President was declined, but on further consideration he accepted the office of secretary of war. Mr. Davis had ably supported Pierce in the race of the previous year upon the platform which emphasized

beyond all else the finality of the compromise measures, and the cessation of sectional hostilities. He was therefore in this as in other respects in complete agreement with the President from the beginning to the closing of his administration. The duties of the war office were discharged with characteristic energy and ability, and at its close his portrait was added to others of eminent men who had enjoyed the same distinction, and it remains suspended in its proper position to this day. A few years later the friendly and confiding letter of the President to Mr. Davis expressed his painful apprehension concerning the Southern movement for secession, accompanied with the kindest expressions of regard for his former able associate in the executive department of government.

Mr. Davis went now from the cabinet of President Pierce, March 4, 1857, to re-enter the United States Senate by the election of the legislature of Mississippi. He was there assigned to the chairmanship of the committee on military affairs, opposed the French spoliation measures, advocated the Southern Pacific railroad bill, and antagonized Senator Douglas on the question of popular or "squatter" sovereignty in the territories, while on the other hand he disputed the claim set up by the Free-soilers of power in Congress to legislate against those territorial domestic institutions which were not in conflict with the Constitution. During the Kansas troubles he aligned himself with those who endeavored to prevent the dangerous hostilities which the opening of that section to occupation had produced, and when the settlement of 1858 was made by the passage of the conference Kansas-Nebraska bill, he wrote hopefully to the people of Mississippi that it was "the triumph of all for which he had contended." At that moment he believed that the danger of sectional discord was over, that peace would reign, and the Union be saved through the policy pursued by the Buchanan administration. From this date, 1859, he was nationally acknowledged as a statesman in counsel, a

leader of the people, ranking among the most eminent living Americans.

With this standing among the counselors of the government, Senator Davis endeavored in the beginning of 1860 to lay the foundation for a policy which would prevent sectional agitation and unite inseparably all the States in friendly union. This policy was defined in a series of seven resolutions introduced by him in the Senate February 2, 1860, which were debated three months and adopted in May by a majority of that body as the sense of the Senate of the United States upon the relation of the general government to the States and territories. They were opposed en masse by senators who were allied with the new sectional policy upon which the presidential campaign of that year was projected. In the great conflict of that year he was mentioned extensively as a statesman suitable for the presidency, but it was fully announced that he did not desire the nomination. Regretting the breach which occurred at Charleston in his party, he sought to reconcile the factions, and failing in that, endeavored to gain the consent of Douglas and Breckinridge to withdraw their names in order that union might be secured upon some third person. On the election of Mr. Lincoln he sought with others who were alarmed by the situation some remedy other than that of immediate and separate State secession. He was appointed a member of the Senate committee of Thirteen and was willing to accept the Crittenden resolutions as a compromise if they could have the sincere support of Northern senators. His speeches in the Senate were distinguished for their frankness in portraying the dangers of sectionalism, but through the debates of that session he was careful to utter no words which could produce irritation. Mr. Stephens says that Mr. Davis indicated no desire to break up the Union. Mr. Clay, of Alabama, said, " Mr. Davis did not take an active part in planning or hastening secession.

I think he only regretfully consented to it as a political necessity for the preservation of popular and State rights which were seriously threatened by the triumph of a sectional party who were pledged to make war upon them. I know that some leading men and even Mississippians thought him too moderate and backward, and found fault with him for not taking a leading part in secession." Mr. Buchanan sent for him on account of his known conservatism to secure his advice as to the safe course which the administration should pursue, and he promptly complied with the summons. Another fact bearing forcibly on his position while the States were preparing to secede is the meeting of Mississippi congressional delegation at Jackson, called together by the governor, in which the course of their State was the subject of conference. "Mr. Davis with only one other in that conference opposed immediate and separate State action, declaring himself opposed to secession as long as the hope of a peaceable remedy remained." After the majority decided on separate State secession Mr. Davis declared he would stand by whatever action the Mississippi convention would take, but several members in that conference were dissatisfied with his course, suspecting that he was at heart against secession, and desired delay in order to prevent it. The State convention adopted the ordinance of secession January 9, 1861, and immediately after receiving the official notice Mr. Davis made an exquisitely appropriate and pathetic address to the Senate, taking leave of it in compliance with the action of his State, which he fully justified. "I do think," said he, "she has justifiable cause, and I approve of her act. I conferred with her people before that act was taken, counselled them that if the state of things which they apprehended should exist when their convention met, they should take the action which they have now adopted." "I find in myself perhaps a type of the general feeling of my constituents toward yours. I am sure I feel no hostility

toward you, Senators of the North. I am sure there is not one of you, whatever sharp discussion there may have been between us, to whom I cannot say in the presence of my God, I wish you well, and such I am sure is the feeling of the people whom I represent toward those whom you represent. * * * I carry with me no hostile remembrance. Whatever offense I have given which has not been redressed or for which satisfaction has not been demanded, I have, Senators, in this hour of our parting, to offer you my apology for any pain which in the heat of discussion I have inflicted. I go hence unincumbered by the remembrance of any injury received, and having discharged the duty of making the only reparation in my power for any injury offered, Mr. President and Senators, having made the announcement which the occasion seemed to me to require, it only remains for me to bid you a final adieu." With these fitly spoken words, uttered with the grace of manner for which the accomplished orator was distinguished, and with a tenderness in tone produced by the occasion, the Senator vacated the seat which he had honored and stepped away from a position of commanding dignity and power sufficient to gratify his ambition. It must be seen that the sacrifice was great. Before him the experiment of secession to be tried, according to his expressed belief, alone by bloody war—around him, as his parting words fell from his lips, the associations of a nobly patriotic life rise up and engage his thought—within him a consciousness of rectitude in present motive, and magnanimity in feeling; while a record ineffaceable by any power attested the fidelity of his past life to the general welfare of his country. The change of all conditions became peculiarly and specially great as to him, because even contrary to his wishes he was destined to become the head and front of the secession movement. His virtues would be forgotten and his name maligned through the spite and prejudice not only of the ignorant masses, but of prominent men of warped intelligence.

He is to be fairly viewed after secession as the same man who had justly earned fame in the service of the United States, but whose relations to that country were changed by the act of the State to which he owed allegiance. Surveying him at this crisis in his life we take account of his hereditary virtues, his pride of patriotic ancestry, his training in the Southern school of thought, feeling and manner, his systematic education to graduation from West Point academy, his associations from childhood to manhood with men of culture and women of refinement. We observe his physical advantages—a fine figure, erect and strong—in bearing, graceful when moving and pleasing in repose; his features clearly classic and betokening firmness, fearlessness and intelligence. Far he was from any hauteur of bearing, and free from the supposed superciliousness of the misunderstood Southern aristocracy. We see his mind cultivated and fruitful by reason of native power, early education, extensive reading and long communion with great thoughts on affairs of vast importance. He had self command, gained by the discipline of a soldier, which fitted him to command others; certainly also a strong willed nature to that degree where his maturely considered opinion was not lightly deserted, nor his well-formed purpose easily abandoned. He was not the man to desert a cause which he once espoused. He was liable to err by excess of devotion. Such men make mistakes, and the Confederate President was not exempt. The insight of his general character reveals him a conservative patriot, opposing all tendencies to anarchy or monarchy, faithful to constitutional agreements and supporter of popular liberties; in his public and private life above reproach; in religion a devout believer in the Christian faith and living in the communion of his church. Such is the man who had vacated his place as senator from the State of Mississippi.

Mississippi elected him at once to the command of her

State forces, a position he desired, but a few weeks later he was called by election to the Presidency of the Confederacy—a responsibility which he had earnestly shunned.

Jefferson Davis, President of the Confederate States of America and commander-in-chief of the army and navy, belongs to history, and his career is subject to full and fair treatment by just and intelligent men. The failure of his government to establish itself in permanency by the power of its armies will not be accepted as evidence against his own right to be reverenced, except by such persons as those who regard the triumphs of superior over inferior force as decisive of merit. Such persons judge men and their causes by an exploded savage theory which subjected the weak to the strong. The feudal system, Russian serfdom, and African slavery in the beginning of the horrible slave trade, rested on this basis. Men divested of that prejudice which constricts the reason will not decry the President of the Confederacy because it failed. Not the Southern people alone, but intelligent men of the finer mould of thought and feeling among all nations, are gratified by the cessation of the vituperous language of twenty-five years ago, with which even men of eminence as well as the lower sort declaimed against the exalted man who in public service for a like period of twenty-five years, filling positions in war and peace of great public trust, did not in the least degree betray the confidence which his people had reposed in him. That his career is open to adverse criticism will be conceded by his most reverent friends; but that his name, now that he is dead, should be made to wear the chains which generous justice broke from about his imprisoned living body, will not be claimed by the present generation of fair-minded Americans. It is reported that Mr. Gladstone said in 1861 of Jefferson Davis that he had "created a nation," while at the same time it was being urged upon England that he was attempting to take a nation's life. Neither statement was exactly true. Mr. Davis had not

created a nation. He was but the executive head of a republic which the intelligent free people of a number of large and powerful States had created. Nor had he attempted the destruction of the United States, for that government remained the same living political organism after secession that it was before. The great English statesman was not a sympathizer with the Southern secession, but he saw with clear vision that a nation in fact had come into being whose greatness was reflected in the character of the ruler it had chosen. His administration was not restrained by his antipathies. With the true greatness of his own nature he could esteem the virtues which were conspicuous in the character of such a chieftain of such a people. Jefferson Davis and the people of the Confederacy being inseperable in the reflections of mankind, the South asks only that he and they shall be judged by honorable men who have the capacities of reason and gentility to render a just judgment.

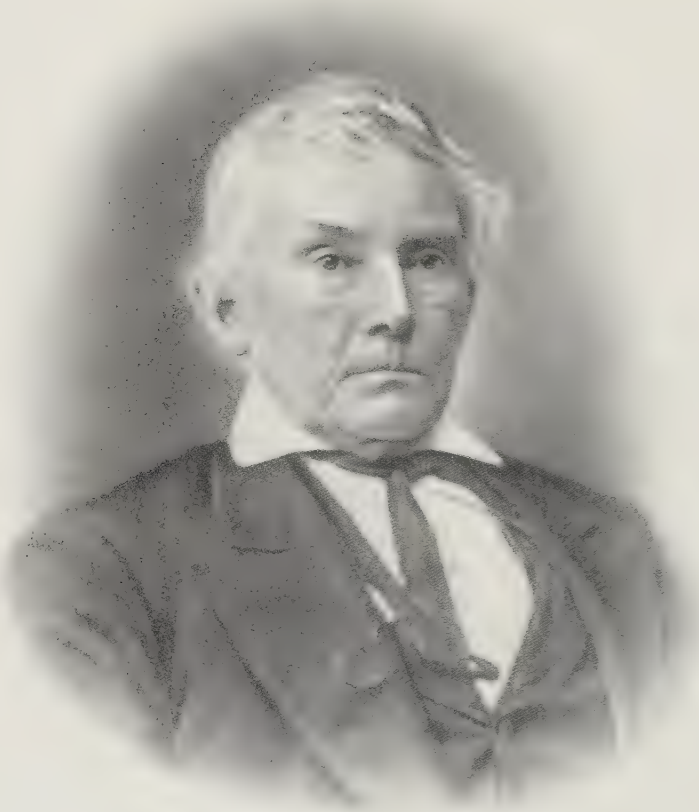
His administration of the government of the Confederate States must be viewed, as Mr. Stephens justly remarks, in the light of the extraordinary difficulties which had to be suddenly encountered by a new republic which was attacked at all points in the beginning of its formation. The errors of the administration are not so clearly observable as its wisdom. Possibly certain policies ably proposed by patriotic and capable advocates, but not adopted, might have been more efficacious than others which were pursued. It is conjecture only that a different policy would have gained the Southern cause. Possibly the offensive policy which was urged upon the Confederate President in the first months' fighting might have been better than the defensive which he was constrained to adopt. The financial system was not the best and yet some of its features were adopted or followed by the United States. Conscription was a hard measure, and perhaps the appeal for volunteers would have kept the army full. There were on these and other great

problems differences of opinion, but there was rare unity in the Confederate purpose to succeed, and hence the government was maintained against forces of men, money and diplomacy leagued against it in such strength as to force the conclusion that after all the Confederate government was wonderfully well sustained for the four or more years of its existence. Nearly all the great reviewers of the Confederate civil administration and the operations of its armies agree in the verdict that both departments were well sustained by the intelligent and brave leaders at the head of affairs. The administration policy incurred special opposition at all the points above named, in regard to which President Davis in his writings concedes the fidelity and intelligence of his opposers, even admitting that in some instances his policy should have been changed. The difficult and delicate situations in which he was placed by the progress of military events often embarrassed him. His appointments were not always the best that could have been made, and his military suggestions were sometimes faulty because they were given at a distance from the field. But the constantly diminishing resources of his country, through the destructive agencies that eroded them at every point, caused the collapse of the government. President Davis did not publicly disclose any apprehensions of failure even to the last days of the Confederacy. So far as the antagonists of his government could determine from his open policy he had no thought of peace except in independence. But it is apparent from his actions in the winter of 1864 and 1865, especially after his interview with Lee and other officers, that he began to look about him for the way to peace. The commission sent to Canada to meet any parties from the United States who would counsel peace; his readiness to give audience to even such unauthorized but friendly visitors as Colonel Jacques; his two interviews with Blair and his letter to Blair to be shown to Lincoln; his appointment of Stephens,

Campbell and Hunter to meet President Lincoln in an informal conference—all these indicated at the time and now more clearly disclose that the Confederate President would have consented to peace upon terms that would even subvert his presidency and consign him to private life. The defeat and surrender of the armies of Lee and Johnston dissolved the Confederate States in fact leaving nothing to be done in law but the abrogation of the ordinances of secession by the States which had erected them. As one result of the fall of the armies the President was made a captive by the military, imprisoned in chains, charged unjustly with crimes for which he demanded trial in vain, and after two years of imprisonment which disgraced his enemies was released on bond. A nolle prosequi was entered in his case in 1869, and thus he was never brought to the trial which he earnestly demanded.

After this release on bail the ex-President enjoyed an enthusiastic reception at Richmond, Virginia, and then visited Europe. Returning home, he avoided ostentatious display, appearing before the public, however, in occasional address and writings. He counseled the South to recover its wasted resources and maintain its principles. Secession he frankly admitted to be no more possible, but he remained to the last an unyielding opposer of power centralized in the Federal government. Now and then public demonstrations revealed the attachment of the Southern people, especially two occasions in Georgia, one being the unveiling of the Ben Hill statue in Atlanta, and the other an occasion in Macon, Ga., during the State agricultural fair. These popular demonstrations were of such an imposing character as to evidence the undiminished attachment of the people to his personal character, and sympathy for him in his misfortunes.

The death of the President occurred at New Orleans about one o'clock a. m., December 6, 1889, and the event was announced throughout the Union. The funeral cer-



A. H. STEPHENS

emonies in New Orleans were such as comported with the illustrious character of the deceased chieftain, while public meetings in other cities and towns of the South were held to express the common sorrow, and the flags of State capitols were dropped to half-mast. Distinguished men pronounced eulogies on his character, and the press universally at the South and generally at the North contained extended and laudatory articles on his character.

The burial place in New Orleans was selected only as a temporary receptacle, while a general movement was inaugurated for a tomb and monument which resulted in the removal of the body to Richmond, the capitol of the Confederacy. The removal took place by means of a special funeral train from New Orleans to Richmond, passing through several States and stopping at many places to receive the respectful and affectionate tributes bestowed by the people. The scene from the time of the departure from New Orleans to the last rites at Richmond was singular in its nature and sublime in its significance of popular esteem for the memory of the Confederate President. The funeral train moved day and night almost literally in review before the line of people assembled to see it pass. Finally in the presence of many thousands the casket was deposited in the last resting place in the keeping of the city which had so long withstood the rude alarms of war under his presidency.

Alexander Hamilton Stephens, LL. D., Vice-President of the Confederate States—a man eminent in natural abilities, in intellectual training, in statesmanship and moral virtues—grandson of a soldier under Washington—was one of that body of great men who stood firmly by the venture on independence made by the Southern people in 1861. He was born February 11, 1812, in Georgia, near Crawfordsville, where he is buried, and where a monument erected by the people speaks of his fame. Educated during his early youth in the schools of the

times, he was graduated in 1832 at the age of twenty years, and was admitted to the bar in 1834. His practice of the profession scarcely opened before he was summoned to enter on the long and distinguished political career which gave his name an exceedingly prominent place in American history. After declining political honors and seeking to pursue without interruption a professional life, he was nevertheless forced by his constituency to represent them in political office. His county sent him in 1836 to the State legislature, repeated their selection until in 1841 he positively declined re-election. But in 1842 he was chosen State senator. His record as a State legislator shows him diligent in protecting all common interests, and in advancing the State's material welfare. His earliest course in public life at once foreshadowed that career in which he won the title of The Great Commoner. His first entry into the United States Congress occurred in 1843, after which he served 16 years with distinction constantly increasing until in 1859 he returned to private life by his own choice, with premature congratulations in an address to his constituents on account of what he supposed at that time a full settlement of all dangerous questions. He had been a firm advocate of the compromise measures of 1850, and having subsequently participated in the settlement of the Kansas troubles, accepted the result as an end of sectional strife so far as the South was concerned. The presidential campaign of 1860 found him an advocate of the election of Stephen A. Douglas, in which he led the electoral ticket for that statesman in Georgia. The election of Mr. Lincoln alarmed him as being a disturbance of the settlement and a menace to the Union, but with ardent devotion to the republic of States under the Constitution, he endeavored to avert secession, proposing to fight the Republican administration inside the Union, and failing there to invoke concerted separation of all the Southern States. He was elected a member of the Georgia convention of 1861, and

after strenuous effort to delay the passage of an ordinance of separate State secession, he yielded when the act was passed and gave his entire energies to maintain the Confederacy. His objections were to the expediency of immediate secession and not to the right of his State to secede.

The convention wisely chose him as a delegate to the Provisional Congress which had been appointed to assemble at Montgomery, by which body he was unanimously chosen Vice-President of the Confederate States, an office which constituted him the President of the Confederate Senate. His talents and commanding influence throughout the South caused his services to be put to immediate use, not only in assisting in the organization of the Confederate government, but in the general effort to induce all Southern States to join those which had already seceded. On this account he was commissioned to treat with Virginia on behalf of the Confederacy and succeeded in gaining that valuable State before its ordinance of secession had been formally ratified by the people. In the formation of the Confederate Constitution his statesmanship and profound acquaintance with the principles of government were found to be of great value. That great instrument was an improvement, in his opinion, on the Constitution of the United States, receiving his warm commendation although some features which he had urged were not adopted. He says of the supreme charter of the new republic, "The whole document utterly negatives the idea which so many have been active in endeavoring to put in the enduring form of history, that the convention at Montgomery was nothing but a set of 'conspirators' whose object was the overthrow of the principles of the Constitution of the United States, and the erection of a great 'slave oligarchy' instead of the free institutions thereby secured and guaranteed. This work of the Montgomery convention, with that of the Constitution for a provisional government, will ever re-

main not only as a monument of the wisdom, foresight and statesmanship of the men who constituted it, but an everlasting refutation of the charges which have been brought against them." Mr. Stephens fully approved the peace policy proposed by the Confederate government, which was manifested by sending commissioners to Washington without delay Astounded by the treatment these eminent gentlemen received, he vigorously denounced the duplicity of Mr. Seward while declaring his opinion that Mr. Lincoln had been persuaded to change his original policy. The attempt to reinforce Sumter, in the light of the deception practiced on the commissioners, was pronounced by him "atrocious" and "more than a declaration of war. It was an act of war itself." From the outset Mr. Stephens favored a vigorous prosecution of all diplomatic measures, and an active military preparation by the Confederacy. He and Mr. Davis were in happy accord as to the general purpose of the Confederacy so tersely expressed by the Confederate President on the reassembling of Congress in April, 1861, "We seek no conquest, no aggrandizement, no concessions from the free States. All we ask is to be let alone—that none shall attempt our subjugations by arms. This we will and must resist to the direst extremity. The moment this pretention is abandoned the sword will drop from our hands, and we shall be ready to enter into treaties of amity and commerce mutually beneficial."

As the war progressed the Vice-President was often called upon to make addresses to the people at critical periods, in all of which he characterized the invasion of the South as an unjust war for conquest and subjugation, "the responsibilities for all its sacrifices of blood and treasure resting on the Washington administration." Frankly declaring that the slavery institution as it existed at the start had its origin in European and American cupidity, and was not an unmitigated evil, he justified the Confederacy in protecting that species of property

Sec. Navy STEPHEN R. MALLORY.
Sec. Treas. GEORGE A TRENHOLM.
Sec. State R. M. T. HUNTER.
Sec. War LEROY POPE WALKER.

Sec. State ROBERT TOOMBS.
Postmaster Gen. J. H. REAGAN.
Sec. Treas. C. G. MEMMINGER.
Sec. War J. C. BRECKINRIDGE.

Atty.-Gen. J. P. BENJAMIN.
Sec. War JAS. A. SEDDON.
Atty.-Gen. THOS. H. WATTS.
Sec. War G. W. RANDOLPH.

against the assaults of a majority, but did not declare it to be the "corner stone" of the new Republic, as is often quoted against him. He held that slavery as a domestic institution under the control of the States was attacked by those who sought to establish the rule that the Federal government had the power to regulate any domestic institution of any State. His views regarding the political relations of the Federal and State governments were nearly allied to those of Jefferson, and these views he carried with him in his construction of the Confederate constitution. Believing that liberty depended more on law than arms—for he was by nature a civilian, and by learning a jurist—he could not agree with others in all war measures adopted at Richmond. Mr. Lincoln's administration was arraigned by him with great severity, because of its utter disregard of all constitutional restraint. So also he objected to any breach of the constitution by his own government. His opposition to the financial policy, the conscription, the suspension of the habeas corpus, and to other war measures, was very decided, and differences occurred between the Vice-President and the Confederate administration; but his friendly intercourse with President Davis and the Cabinet remained to the close of the war. He says, "these differences, however wide and thorough as they were, caused no personal breach between us," a statement which Mr. Davis confirms. It is proper to mention that Mr. Stephens was the defender of President Davis against all malicious attacks as long as he lived. The cruel and vicious charges against Mr. Davis concerning the treatment of prisoners were promptly condemned by him as one of "the boldest and baldest attempted outrages upon the truths of history which has ever been essayed; not less so than the infamous attempt to fix upon him and other high officials on the Confederate side the guilt of Mr. Lincoln's assassination. Mr. Stephens very certainly entertained the

idea from the earliest days of secession that a process of disintegration of the old union could occur by the pursuit of a proper policy, and that eventually as he says, "a reorganization of its constituent elements and a new assimilation upon the basis of a new constitution" would result in a more perfect union of the whole. These views met with little favor. Their accomplishment was too distant, too uncertain, too impracticable to suit the times.

He was willing at all times to make peace and restore the Union on the basis of the constitution adopted at Montgomery, or simply on the sincere recognition of the absolute sovereignty of the States. But neither of these was admissible as a basis of reunion. As the war went on and Confederate resources diminished to the point of exhaustion, Mr. Stephens began to press with some vehemence upon the administration at Richmond his views as to measures designed to end the carnage of battle. The latter years of the conflict were in the main attended with disasters under which the people of the South were bearing up with stout heart, occasionally relieved by victories on the field and rumors of attempts by a Northern peace party to suspend hostilities. Mr. Stephens was among the foremost in the peace movement, but without the least degree manifesting any want of fealty to the Confederacy. It was thought that he and Mr. Lincoln—two old and attached friends who held each other in great regard—could they get together and talk over the question confidentially, a basis for peace would be found. The political status at the North in the summer of 1863 seemed to favor an attempt to approach the United States government on the subject as well as to effect an arrangement for resumption of exchange of prisoners of war. Under these circumstances Mr. Stephens proposed to go in person to Washington and hold a preliminary interview with Mr. Lincoln "that might lead eventually to successful results." But while this proposition was under discussion the Confederate

armies crossed the Potomac and threatened Washington, producing a state of feeling in the cabinet of Mr. Lincoln which seemed to Mr. Stephens to be unfavorable to any negotiations. He was, however, commissioned by Mr. Davis to make the effort to secure exchanges of prisoners, and did so with the result of a prompt refusal by the Federal authorities to receive any commissioner on that subject.

Mr. Stephens thought in 1864 that the reaction against Mr. Lincoln's war policy was on account of the fear that the so-called war power would become as dangerous to the liberties of the Northern States, and he entertained the opinion that a proper encouragement given to the peace people throughout the North would result in their political success in the elections of that year, and thus bring into power at Washington a body of men who would treat with the South. "It was our true policy," he writes, "while struggling for our own independence, to use every possible means of impressing upon the minds of the real friends of liberty at the North the truth that if we should be overpowered and put under the heel of centralism that the same fate would await them sooner or later." On this line he sympathized with the resolutions passed in March, 1864, by the legislature of Georgia, evidently prepared to strengthen the opposition at the North to the administration of Mr. Lincoln. But the overwhelming re-election of Mr. Lincoln dissipated the hope of adjustment.

The final effort at negotiation was made through Mr. Stephens and his associate commissioners, Campbell and Hunter, appointed by Mr. Davis, who met Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward at Hampton Roads February 3, 1865, in informal and futile conference. Mr. Stephens was chief spokesman in that famous interview, and has given his recollections very fully of all that occurred. He pressed Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Seward to consent to an armistice with the view of arranging a demand by the United States

upon the French emperor Maximilian to release Mexico from European control in accordance with the popular "Monroe doctrine." This diversion, he believed, would open the way to a restoration of the Union. Mr. Seward replied that the suggestion was only a "philosophical theory," and Mr. Lincoln said that the disbanding of all armies and the installation of Federal authority everywhere was absolutely the preliminary to any cessation of hostilities. Failing in this effort to secure an armistice, Mr. Stephens and the other commissioners requested a statement of conditions upon which the war might end. Would the seceded States be at once related as they were before to the other States under the Constitution? What would be done with the property in slaves? What would be the course of the United States toward the actors in secession? Questions of this character, but not in these precise words, were answered by saying that all armed resistance must cease and the government be trusted to do what it thought best. There appears no evidence that Mr. Lincoln wrote the word "Union" on a paper and said that Mr. Stephens could write under it what he would, and there is no probability that anything so silly, impotent and unwise was done by the sagacious President of the United States. There was no promise of payment for slave property, but only a suggestion by Mr. Lincoln that he himself would favor it, although his views in that regard were well known to be entirely inutile. Thus the conference failed as to any beneficial result.

Mr. Stephens considered the Southern cause hopeless after returning from the Hampton Roads conference, and finding the administration resolved on defending Richmond to the last, he left Richmond for his home February 9th, without any ill-humor with Mr. Davis or any purpose to oppose the policy adopted by the cabinet, and remained in retirement until his arrest on the 11th of May. He was confined as a prisoner for five months at Fort Warren, which he endured with fortitude and without

yielding up his convictions. His release by parole occurred in October, 1865, and on the following February the Georgia legislature elected him United States senator, but Congress was now treating Georgia as a State out of the Union, in subversion of the Presidential proclamation of restoration and he was therefore refused a seat. Later, when the reconstruction era was happily ended, he was elected representative to Congress, in which he took his seat and served with unimpaired ability. In the year 1882 he was elected governor of Georgia, and during his term was taken sick at Savannah, where he died March 4, 1883. Extraordinary funeral honors were paid him at the capital and in the State generally, and his memory is cherished warmly as one of the great men of his times.

Robert Toombs, first secretary of state of the Confederate States, was born in Wilkes county, Ga., July 2, 1810. His grandfather fought with Braddock, and his father commanded a Virginia regiment under Washington. He was a student in Franklin college, Georgia, and was graduated at Union college, New York, in 1828, studied law at the university of Virginia, and was admitted to the bar in 1830. In 1837 he was a captain of militia in the Creek war, and on his return home was elected to the legislature by the Whigs, of whom he became a leader. He was returned in 1839, 1840, 1842 and 1843. In 1844 he was elected to Congress, where he served eight years in the lower house. Becoming an ardent advocate of the compromise measure of 1850, he was elected by the Constitutional Union party in 1851 to the United States Senate. In this body he remained, strenuously defending State rights, until he left Congress in 1861. He earnestly advocated disunion after the election of Lincoln, and was elected by the Georgia convention to the Congress of the Southern States at Montgomery. He accepted the portfolio of State under President Davis, on the organization of the Provisional govern-

ment, but soon resigned and went into the field as brigadier-general. He declined re-election as senator in 1862, and remained in the provisional Confederate army until after the battle of Sharpsburg, in which he did signal service. In 1864 he was adjutant and inspector-general of a division of Georgia militia. After the surrender he exiled himself from the country and passed two years in Cuba, France and England, but returned in 1867. The closing years of his life were spent in advocacy of State political reforms and in enforcing the taxation laws of 1874 against the railroads. He died December 15, 1885.

Robert Mercer Taliaferro Hunter, second secretary of state, was born in Essex county, Virginia, April 21, 1809. He studied in the university of Virginia and then engaged in law practice in his native county. He sat in the Virginia house of delegates elected in 1834, and in 1837 entered the national house of representatives, in which he obtained such influence that upon his re-election by his district he was chosen speaker. Here began his close friendship and political alliance with John C. Calhoun. He was defeated in 1842, re-elected in 1844, and in 1846 was elected United States senator. In the discussion and settlement of the great political questions of that period he bore a prominent part. He favored the annexation of Texas; supported the tariff bill of 1846; opposed the Wilmot proviso; supported the fugitive slave law; opposed the various measures hostile to slavery; and advocated the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton constitution. As chairman of the finance committee he made a famous report on coinage, favoring a debasement of subsidiary silver, and he framed the tariff of 1857, since known by his name, decreasing duties and revenues. In 1860, in the Charleston convention, he received upon several ballots the vote next highest to that of Stephen A. Douglas for the Presidential nomination. January 11, 1861, he made a last appeal in Congress

for the institutions of the South and for peace. When Virginia cast her lot with the Confederacy, Mr. Hunter represented the State in the Provisional Congress, and was soon called to the secretaryship of state. He served from July, 1861, to March, 1862, and then entered the Confederate Congress as senator from Virginia. He was one of the peace commissioners at the Hampton Roads conference, after which he presided over a war meeting at Richmond. At the close of the war he was arrested and confined for a time, but in 1867 received a pardon from President Johnson. He became treasurer of Virginia in 1877, and in 1880 retired to his farm, where he died July 18, 1887.

Judah Philip Benjamin, secretary of state of the Confederacy during the greater part of the existence of the government, was born at St. Croix, West Indies, August 11, 1811, the son of English Jews then en route to America. Soon after his birth the family settled at Wilmington, N. C. He entered Yale college at fourteen years of age and studied three years, then making his home at New Orleans, where he was admitted to the bar in 1832. During his early years as a lawyer he published a digest of Supreme court decisions. In 1840 he was a member of the celebrated law firm of Slidell, Benjamin & Conrad, and in 1845 he sat in the Louisiana constitutional convention. In 1847 he was counsel for the United States commission to investigate Spanish land titles in California. On his return he made his residence at Washington and practiced before the United States Supreme court. He was a Presidential elector for Louisiana in 1848, was elected United States senator in 1852, and re-elected in 1859. On February 4, 1861, he withdrew from the Senate with his colleague and law partner, John Slidell. Appointed attorney-general under the Provisional government he served until September, 1861, when he was called to the secretaryship of war. March 18, 1862, he was

appointed secretary of State, which portfolio he held until the end of the government, when he made his way through Florida to the Bahamas, and thence sailed to England. He was there admitted to the practice of law in 1867; a year later published a treatise on the sale of personal property; was made queen's counsel in 1872; and presently was so famous as to appear solely before the House of Lords and privy council. He was given a farewell banquet in 1883, and died at Paris, May 8, 1884.

Thomas Hill Watts, of Alabama, served as attorney-general from April 9, 1862, until October 1, 1863. He was born in Butler county, Alabama, January 3, 1819. His family was not wealthy, and it was only by the sacrifice of his patrimony that he was enabled to complete his education at the university of Virginia, in 1840. He was admitted to practice of the law in 1841, and in 1842, 1844 and 1845 held a seat in the State legislature. Removing to Montgomery, he was elected from that city to the lower branch of the legislature and subsequently to the senate. In politics he was an earnest Whig and opposed the policy of secession while it was an unrealized theory. But when no other course was open, he aided the movement to withdraw Alabama from the union, and was one of the members of the constitutional convention at Montgomery in 1861 which adopted the ordinance of secession. In this body he was chairman of the judiciary committee. In the summer of 1861 he organized and became colonel of the Seventeenth Alabama infantry, and served at Pensacola and Corinth. In March, 1862, he was called to Richmond by President Davis to assume the duties of attorney-general of the Confederate States. While holding this office he was elected, in August, 1863, governor of Alabama, and on December 1st was inaugurated. The Federal occupation terminated this official trust in April, 1865, and Mr. Watts resumed the practice of his profession and rendered great service during the

reconstruction period. He died at Montgomery in September, 1892.

Thomas Bragg, of North Carolina, second attorney-general of the Confederate States, was born in Warren county, North Carolina, November 9, 1810, a brother of General Braxton Bragg. He completed his academic education at a military institute at Norwich, Conn., and then entered the profession of law, winning attention at an early age in the Edenton circuit. He represented Northampton in the assembly of 1842, and was chairman of the house judiciary committee. Becoming a Democratic leader, he was elected governor of North Carolina in 1854 and 1856, and United States senator in 1858. The latter office he resigned in 1861 to follow the action of his State. His service as attorney-general extended from November 21, 1861, to March 18, 1862. He then returned to the practice of his profession, his eminence in which enabled him to render to the people great service during the calamitous years following the war. In the impeachment trial of Governor Holden he served as one of the counsel for the prosecution. His death occurred at Raleigh, January 21, 1872.

George Davis, of North Carolina, fourth attorney-general of the Confederate States, was born at Wilmington, March 1, 1820; a son of Thomas F. Davis, a prominent citizen, and a grandson of Thomas Davis, distinguished in the Revolutionary struggle. His lineage has been traced back through James Moore, governor of the Cape Fear colony in 1700, and his wife, the daughter of Sir John Yeomans, to two heroes of the Irish revolution of 1641, Roger Moore, and Sheriff Robert Yeomans, of Bristol. In early youth George Davis manifested the remarkable intellectual qualities which gave him fame, entering the State university at the age of fourteen and graduating with the highest honors in 1838. He then adopted the

profession of law, in which he speedily achieved prominence and a lucrative practice. His reputation as a jurist was rivalled by his fame as an orator, and he entered vigorously into the campaigns of that period as a leader of the old Whig party. His State, as is well known, was one of the latest to enter the Confederacy, and before that event occurred he made an earnest effort, as one of the commissioners of North Carolina to the peace congress at Washington, to avert the resort to arms. On his return to Wilmington he made a memorable address to his fellow citizens, giving an account of his service, and declaring that he could not accept the basis of conciliation proposed by the congress. On June 18, 1861, he was elected senator for North Carolina in the Confederate Congress, and in 1862 was re-elected. He was appointed attorney-general January 4, 1864, and served in that office until the dissolution of the government. Subsequently he resumed his professional work at Wilmington, and though he consented to deliver a memorable address in 1876 on political topics, he steadfastly declined all political honors which were offered, including the position of chief justice of the Supreme court of the State, tendered him by Governor Vance in 1878. In 1889, though in feeble health, he made his last appearance as an orator to pay a tribute to the memory of his departed chief and dear friend, Mr. Jefferson Davis. He died at Wilmington, February 23, 1896.

Wade Keys, assistant attorney-general of the Confederate States, was born in 1821, at Mooresville, Alabama, where his father, General Keys, was engaged in business as a merchant in addition to his interests as a planter. He was educated at LaGrange college and the university of Virginia and subsequently entered upon the study of law under the preceptorship of Judge Coleman of Athens. He continued his professional studies at Lexington, Kentucky, and after a tour in Europe, made his home

and the theatre of his early professional efforts at Tallahassee, Florida, in 1844. He resided there until 1851, in the meantime publishing two volumes upon legal subjects, and then removed to Montgomery, Ala., where he at once took a position of prominence among the lawyers of his native State. In 1853 he was elected by the legislature to the position of chancellor of the southern division of the State, which he held for six years. Upon the organization of the Confederate government at Montgomery he was appointed to the department of justice as assistant attorney-general, the duties of which he performed with signal ability during the continuance of the government. After the close of hostilities he resumed his legal practice, residing at Montgomery until 1867, and after that date, at Florence, Alabama.

Christopher Gustavus Memminger, first secretary of the treasury of the Confederate States, was born January 7, 1803, in Wurtemberg, Germany. His father had been a captain in the army of the elector of Suabia, and his grandfather an officer in the university of Babenhausen. He was left an orphan at Charleston at the age of four years and was placed at an asylum in that city until adopted by Thomas Bennett, afterward governor of South Carolina, who reared him as his own child, gave him a collegiate education and a training in law under his own supervision. Thus equipped he entered upon a brilliant career both in law and politics. In 1832, when the question of nullification was uppermost he published "The Book of Nullification," arraigning that doctrine with pungent satire. From 1836 to 1852 he represented Charleston in the State assembly and was prominent in the financial legislation of that period. In 1854 he made a study of the public school system in the North by personal inspection, and framed and secured the passage of a law providing for an educational tax and the establishment of a public school system in South

Carolina. He was a commissioner to Virginia in 1859 to secure the co-operation of that State against the abolition movement, was a member of the State convention which passed the ordinance of secession in 1860, and as a delegate to the Provisional Congress at Montgomery was chairman of the committee which drafted the constitution of the Confederate States. He became secretary of the treasury February 21, 1861, and began a wonderful series of efforts for the financial relief of the government. He negotiated an European loan on cotton, devised the "tax in kind," and was the author of the plan of issuing notes to be taken up with bonds afterward followed by Secretary Chase. After managing his department with remarkable skill and ability for over three years, he resigned in July, 1864, and after the close of hostilities he returned to his professional pursuits at Charleston, also devoting his energies to the industrial and educational development of the State, being a pioneer in the utilization of the phosphate wealth of South Carolina, and reorganizing the South Carolina college. His death occurred in 1888.

George A. Trenholm, who succeeded Mr. Memminger as secretary of the treasury, and held the office until the close of the war, was born in South Carolina in 1806, and died in Charleston December 10, 1876. He was a prominent merchant of the city, and prior to the civil war his firm transacted a large business in cotton, and enjoyed almost unlimited credit abroad. During the war they engaged extensively in blockade running, and were interested in many daring attempts to obtain supplies from Nassau. His service as secretary of the treasury covered the period of July 18, 1864, to April, 1865. At the dissolution of the Confederacy he was taken prisoner and held until October, 1865, when he was pardoned by President Johnson.

Philip Clayton, of Georgia, assistant secretary of the treasury, was born in Athens, Georgia, March 19, 1815, the son of Judge Augustus L. Clayton, an eminent jurist and statesman. He was educated for the profession of law, in which he speedily won substantial honors, also evincing a talent for public affairs which led to important service in the United States government. For twelve years, in the ante-bellum period, he held the office of second auditor of the United States treasury, and for four years, during the administration of President Buchanan, he served as assistant secretary of the treasury under Secretary Howell Cobb. This position he resigned upon the secession of Georgia in January, 1861, and cast his lot with his native State and the Confederacy. Under the first secretary of the treasury, C. G. Memminger, Mr. Clayton was appointed to the same position which he held under the Federal government, assistant secretary, a position in which his long experience made him invaluable. After the war he acted for several years as teller of the savings bank at Augusta, Georgia. During the administration of General Grant, through the influence of Hon. A. H. Stephens, he was appointed United States consul to Callao, Peru, a position he filled with distinguished honor for three years, until he fell a victim to yellow fever. He died March 22, 1877, and was buried in the English cemetery, Belle Vista, between Callao and Lima.

Leroy Pope Walker, the first war secretary, was born near Huntsville, Alabama, July 28, 1817, the son of the distinguished John William Walker, who presided over the convention which framed the constitution of the State. He was admitted to the bar in 1838, was elected brigadier-general of Alabama militia, and in 1843 was elected to the legislature by Lawrence county. In 1847 he represented Lauderdale county, and was chosen speaker of the House that year and in 1849. At the first election of judges by the people, in 1850, he was chosen judge of

the Fourth judicial circuit, a position he resigned in 1853 to be returned to the legislature, where he ably discussed the measures for internal improvement, the issues of that day, and demonstrating great abilities in the debates in which Alabama's great men, like Judge, Curry, Meek and Cochrane, participated. He then devoted himself to his law practice, and in 1860 was a delegate to the Charleston and Baltimore conventions, where he was earnest in opposition to Douglas. He shared the sentiment of his State regarding secession, and after the ordinance was passed he was appointed by Governor Moore commissioner to urge the coöperation of Tennessee. In February, 1861, he accepted the secretaryship of war in the cabinet of President Davis, and began without delay the discharge of those highly important and delicate duties which confronted him during the first weeks of Mr. Lincoln's administration. With wise foresight he penetrated the purposes of the Washington administration and announced that he had no confidence in Mr. Seward's "faith as to Sumter." Telegrams between himself and Beauregard, at Charleston, grew frequent, and at the critical moment he directed the demand for the surrender of Sumter. During the excitement at Montgomery which followed the fall of Sumter, several fervid speeches were made, and Judge Walker, participating, spoke impromptu and in a somewhat boastful spirit. His remarks, reported at the North with exaggerations, were construed as an official threat to float the Confederate flag over Boston and Philadelphia, and were used as an argument for the enlistment of Federal troops. Judge Walker continued in office until September 21, 1861—the period of enlistment—and then accepted a commission as brigadier-general, which he resigned in March, 1862. After the war he resumed the practice of law at Huntsville, where his death took place, August 22, 1884. His devotion to the principles of the secession movement, fidelity to important trusts, and honorable conduct at all

times, have placed his memory firmly in the esteem of his countrymen.

George Wythe Randolph, second secretary of war, was born at Monticello, Virginia, March 10, 1818, the son of Thomas M. Randolph and his wife Martha, daughter of Thomas Jefferson. At the death of his illustrious grandfather he was sent to school at Cambridge, Mass. Then at thirteen years of age he became a midshipman and served in the United States navy until nineteen years of age, when he entered the university of Virginia. Two years later he embraced the profession of law. At the time of the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry he organized a company of artillery, which was subsequently maintained and operated against the Federals at the battle of Bethel, early in 1861. He was then commissioned brigadier-general and given a command, which he held until appointed secretary of war. He assumed the duties of that portfolio March 24, 1862, and resigned them on November 17 of the same year, then reporting for duty in the field. He was one of the commissioners sent by Virginia to consult President Lincoln, after his election. He died at Edge Hill, Va., April 10, 1878.

Gustavus W. Smith, who was acting secretary of war for the brief period between November 17, 1862, and November 21, 1862, was born in Georgetown, Scott county, Kentucky, January 1, 1822. At the age of sixteen years he entered West Point military academy, was graduated in 1842, and appointed brevet second-lieutenant in the corps of engineers; promoted second-lieutenant, 1845; joined the army in Mexico in 1846. By the death of his captain he was thrown into command of the only company of engineers in the army, and in that rank participated in the siege of Vera Cruz, and the battles of Cerro Gordo, Contreras, Churubusco, Chapultepec and City of Mexico. He was commended by General Scott and bre-

vetted captain for gallantry at Cerro Gordo. In 1849 he became principal assistant professor of engineering at West Point, a position he resigned December 18, 1854, to make his home at New Orleans. In 1856 he removed to New York city, where in 1858 he was appointed street commissioner. He resigned this position in 1861 to join the Confederate movement. He was appointed major-general and put in command of the second corps of the Confederate army in Virginia, on the transfer of General Beauregard, and was at this time the second officer in rank under General Johnston. He commanded the reserve at Yorktown and the rear guard in the movement toward Richmond. When General Johnston was wounded at Seven Pines May 31, 1861, the command of the army devolved upon General Smith, who was sick at the time, though on the field. On the day following the battle of Seven Pines General Smith was relieved by the assignment of General Robert E. Lee to the command of the army of Northern Virginia. This assignment was agreeable to and expected by General Smith, who was physically in an unfit condition to take command of the army. He had done valuable service around Richmond, and presently continued these services under General Beauregard at Charleston, after which he engaged in superintending the Etowah iron works for the armies until in 1864 they were destroyed on Sherman's advance. Governor Brown, of Georgia, having called out a militia force of about 10,000 men exempt from conscription, the command was given to General Smith, with General Toombs as adjutant-general, both of these officers having resigned their commissions in the Confederate army. In this service, under General Johnston, he organized the State forces and fought them with very marked efficiency until the surrender. General Smith embarked in civil life after the war in various honorable pursuits and closed his days in New York city, June 23, 1896.

James Alexander Seddon, of Virginia, was in charge of the war department during a longer period than any other of the secretaries of war. He was born in Stafford county, Virginia, July 13, 1815, of English colonial descent. He entered the law school of the university of Virginia at the age of twenty-one years, and took a degree of B. L., after which he began the practice of the law at Richmond. In 1845 he was elected to Congress, where he advocated the principles of free trade. In 1847 he declined a renomination, but in 1849 accepted, and served until 1851. His feeble health then compelled him to retire from political affairs, until the crisis of 1860 brought him again into prominence. He was one of the representatives of Virginia in the peace convention at Washington in 1861, and as a member of the committee on resolutions introduced a minority report recognizing the right of peaceable secession. He became a member of the first Confederate Congress, and served as secretary of war from November 21, 1862, to February 6, 1865. He died in Goochland county, August 19, 1880.

John Cabell Breckinridge, of Kentucky, secretary of war from February 4, 1865, until the close of the war, was born at Lexington, Kentucky, January 15, 1821. He was graduated at Center college in 1839, practiced law at Burlington, Iowa, and later at Lexington, was major of the Third regiment Kentucky volunteers in the Mexican war, and sat in the legislature in 1849. In 1851 he was elected to Congress from the Ashland district, and re-elected in 1853. He declined the mission to Spain and retired from public life. But in 1856 he was elected Vice-President of the United States, and before the expiration of his term the legislature elected him to the Senate for six years from March 4, 1861. On October 8, 1861, he issued an address from Bowling Green resigning his senatorship and proclaiming his devotion to the South. He was commissioned brigadier-general November 2, 1861, and given

a brigade at Bowling Green. At Shiloh he distinguished himself, and covered the retreat of the army there and at Corinth. Having been promoted major-general April 14, 1862, he commanded a division at Vicksburg. He defeated the enemy at Baton Rouge, took possession of Port Hudson, marched to the relief of Bragg, and made a desperate charge at Murfreesboro. In 1863 he joined General Joseph E. Johnston in Mississippi, and repelled the enemy at Jackson. Returning to Bragg, he participated in the battle of Chickamauga and commanded a corps at Missionary Ridge. May 15, 1864, he defeated Sigel at New Market, Va., rejoined General Lee, and protected the communications during Sheridan's raid, and did good service at Cold Harbor. Then in conjunction with General Early he discomfited the Federals under Hunter, and made the campaign in Maryland, defeating Wallace at Monocacy. Subsequently he fought in the valley until given command in Southwest Virginia, whence he was called to the cabinet. On the collapse of the government he escaped to Cuba, and visited Canada and Europe before returning home. He then became vice-president of the Lexington and Big Sandy railroad. His death occurred May 17, 1875, at Lexington.

John Archibald Campbell, assistant secretary of war, was a Georgian by his birth in Washington, Wilkes county, in that State, June 24, 1811. His grandfather served on the staff of Major-General Greene during the revolution, and his father, Duncan G. Campbell, was a distinguished lawyer, and otherwise prominent in the public affairs of the State. The education of Judge Campbell was obtained through the schools of his State, and in the university of Georgia, where he was graduated in 1826 with the first honors. He also had two years as a cadet at West Point, but resigned that position on the death of his father in 1828. He was admitted to the bar with Robert Toombs by special act of the legislature of Georgia

in 1829, on account of being under twenty-one years of age, and removing to Montgomery, Alabama, entered the practice of the law, with well-deserved success. His abilities brought him so rapidly into public favor that in 1836 he was elected to the legislature, where he did the State great service as chairman of the Bank committee. But his fame chiefly rose from his career as a jurist, and in consequence he was tendered an appointment as secretary of legation to Great Britain by Andrew Jackson, also a position as justice of the Supreme court of Alabama by Governor Clay, both of which he declined. Afterward in 1842 he was chosen as a member of the legislature from Mobile, and having taken part in the discussions arising during the years 1849 and 1850 he was appointed to represent his State in the important Southern States convention which met in Nashville, Tennessee. Once again in 1852 he declined appointment to the Supreme court of Alabama, but in 1853 accepted the position of associate justice of the Supreme court of the United States, which was conferred by President Pierce and unanimously confirmed by the Senate. This exalted and responsible position, which he attained at forty-three years of age, was filled by him with great ability. It suited his tastes and talents, withdrawing him from the turmoil of politics and the contentions of practice, while it gave his judicial mind full scope to ascertain legal principles with opportunity to announce them.

He had been noted as a conservative thinker and actor in all public questions, indisposed to antagonize where compromise could be secured. This disposition led him to hope that secession might be averted by interposition of men who were free from political entanglements. At the outset he frankly dissented from those who advocated secession, and endeavored to be the mediator between Mr. Seward and the Confederate commissioners in March and April, 1865. With a noble purpose to bring the parties together, to avert war, to stay the progress of

secession, and to reunite the seceded States with the Union, he sought Mr. Seward and obtained from him such intimations concerning the policy of the new administration as to induce him to persuade the commissioners to trust the government fully. But at the time he was pledging this assurance, the administration was organizing the coercion movement which was precipitated by the descent of reinforcement vessels upon the waters in Charleston harbor. His indignation at being trifled with by Mr. Seward caused him to forward to the secretary the able historic exposure which now belongs to the history of the inauguration of the war.

President Lincoln's immediate call for a large army to invade the South was sufficient confirmation to his mind that he and the South had been dealt with deceitfully by the secretary of state, and that only war could ensue. He therefore resigned his seat on the Supreme bench and on coming home was assigned to humble but not less important duties as Confederate assistant secretary of war, which he discharged from October, 1862, until the Confederacy dissolved.

Another interesting and important event in the Confederate life of Judge Campbell was his participation in the celebrated Hampton Roads conference in February, 1865. The Hampton Roads conference was brought about at the instance of President Davis, who called the vice-president, Mr. Stephens, into confidential counsel upon the subject, with the result that Mr. Stephens suggested Judge Campbell as one of three commissioners, and Mr. Davis accepting the suggestion, appointed Mr. Stephens, Judge Campbell and Mr. Hunter to hold an interview with President Lincoln. That remarkable conference occurred between these three commissioners on the part of the South, and President Lincoln with Mr. Seward on the part of the United States. Unfortunately it resulted in no understanding through which hostilities could be suspended for a moment. Mr. Stephens did the principal

part of the talking on the part of the South, and to all his remarks Mr. Lincoln simply came back to one statement that no armistice could be allowed except upon the condition that all resistance to the Union cease at once. Mr. Lincoln said "with earnestness," says Mr. Stephens, "that he could entertain no proposition for ceasing active military operations which was not based upon a pledge first given for the ultimate restoration of the Union." Judge Campbell then interposed an inquiry that supposing this pledge be given, what would be the proceedings to re-establish national authority. This pertinent question was asked in pursuance of an understanding among the Confederate commissioners that if Mr. Lincoln would not consent to any armistice they would endeavor to learn the terms on which the war might cease. But Mr. Seward quickly asked that any reply to this question should be withheld until Mr. Stephens had spoken further on his propositions, and after that was done the secretary controverted Mr. Stephens theory as impracticable, and on a renewal of the question by Judge Campbell, President Lincoln's reply was again the same, disband the armies and let the national authorities resume their functions. Judge Campbell still insisted that some intimations should be given as to the course of the government on the disbanding of the Confederate armies, but the only reply was that the courts would adjust all legal difficulties. No pledge would be made that the States would be at once restored to their former relations, or that property in slaves would be regarded. Judge Campbell appears in this critical interview to have been specially desirous of obtaining some intimation from President Lincoln that the States would be restored to their former relations without being subjected to either delay or degradation. His purpose, and possibly that of the whole commission, was to secure some terms on which they could make a report that would result in peace and reunion of the States. But the conference ended without a word of

promise beyond the declaration that on the disbanding of the armies the national authority would be enforced. Mr. Hunter said to Mr. Seward, "this means unconditional surrender."

The Confederate service of Judge Campbell was closed by his arrest by Federal authority and his confinement in Fort Pulaski for several months. After his release he resumed his law practice at New Orleans, 1866, enjoyed the esteem of his people, and died at Baltimore March 12, 1889.

Stephen Russell Mallory, secretary of the navy, was born in Trinidad, West Indies, in 1813, son of Charles Mallory, of Connecticut, who settled at Key West in 1820. He was educated at Mobile, and at Nazareth, Penn., and when nineteen years old was appointed inspector of customs at Key West. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1839; was judge of Monroe county and judge of probate; and in 1845 was appointed collector of customs at Key West. He served as a soldier in the war with the Seminoles. In 1850 he made a successful contest against David L. Yulee for the United States senate, was re-elected in 1857 and resigned in 1861. During his senatorship he was offered and declined the ministry to Spain. On February 21, 1861, he was tendered by President Davis the position of secretary of the navy, which he accepted and held until the dissolution of the government. In April, 1865, he left Richmond with Mr. Davis and proceeded as far as LaGrange, Georgia, where he was arrested. For ten months he was confined in Fort Lafayette, New York. On his release he returned to Pensacola and practiced law until his death, November 9, 1873.

John Henninger Reagan, postmaster-general of the Confederate States, was born in Sevier county, Tennessee. His early life was laborious and uneventful as a farm

boy, woodsman, book-keeper, and boatman, preparing himself well for the active and useful life which followed. Before the age of twenty he went to Natchez, in Mississippi, and in 1839 he moved to Texas, where he enlisted in the campaigning against the Indians, and meanwhile engaged in surveying in the Indian country. In 1845 he began the study of law and was licensed to practice in 1848. But while a law student he was elected captain of militia and justice of the peace, and in 1847 was chosen to the legislature. He was elected district judge in 1852, in which office he routed the gamblers and roughs of the border towns, thus winning a reputation upon which he was elected to congress, on the democratic ticket, in 1856, and re-elected in 1859. In January, 1861, he was elected as a delegate in the Texas convention, and resigning his seat in Congress took his place in the convention of his State. He was a member of the Provisional Congress, and on March 6, 1861, was appointed by President Davis postmaster-general under the provisional government. To this office he was reappointed in February, 1862, under the permanent government, and was also acting secretary of the treasury in the last months of the Confederacy. Mr. Reagan was with President Davis at the time of his capture and, being made a prisoner, was confined at Fort Warren until October, 1865. On his return he foresaw and advocated a policy in the course of the South toward the negro race, of which he wrote an open letter to the Texas people, which was misunderstood and subjected him to severe criticism. Seeking no position he devoted his time for ten years to his law practice and farming interests. Subsequently called again into public life he became a member of the Texas constitutional convention of 1875, was then sent continuously to the United States Congress as a representative, until 1887, when he was elected to the Senate of the United States. His course in Congress distinguished him for ability in the details of business, and for the clearness and force

with which he presented his views on public questions. As the chairman of the important committee on commerce, he performed signal service to the country for ten years in a department of work for which he was well qualified. Through his especial and intelligent efforts the interstate commerce legislation was put in progress. His senatorial career was characterized also by a service for which his long experience had qualified him, but after about four years in that exalted office he chose to retire from political life and accepted the chairmanship of the Texas railroad commission. Senator Reagan has been remarkably firm in his adherence to the first principles upon which he and his State embarked upon secession, and equally devoted and tender in his memories of those who shared with him the trials and destiny of the Confederacy. His writings on the subject are valuable contributions to the history of the causes and events of the war, and especially noteworthy is his latest address (to this date) made in June, 1897, before the convention of United Confederate Veterans when in session at Nashville, Tennessee.

General Samuel Cooper, adjutant and inspector general of the Confederate army, was born at Hackensack, New Jersey, June 12, 1798. His father, of the same name, a resident of Duchess county, New York, was an officer of the revolutionary army. General Cooper entered the United States military academy at fifteen years of age, and received his commission as brevet second-lieutenant of artillery in 1815. He obtained full rank of lieutenancy in 1817, and soon after the reorganization of the army in 1821, became first-lieutenant. In 1828-36 he was aide-de-camp to General Macomb, general in chief, and in 1836 was commissioned captain of the Fourth artillery. He was on staff duty at army headquarters as assistant adjutant-general during the Florida war; was chief of staff to Colonel William J. Worth; brevetted colonel of

the staff for meritorious conduct particularly relating to the prosecution of the Mexican war, and finally in 1852 became adjutant-general of the United States army. He held this rank until 1861, for a short time during this period being secretary of war ad interim. In March, 1861, he resigned his commission, and went immediately to Montgomery and tendered his services to President Davis, by whom he was the next day appointed adjutant-general of the Confederate army, of which he was the ranking officer, standing first on the list of generals. After the war he lived in retirement near Alexandria until his death December, 1876.

Abraham C. Myers, the first quartermaster-general of the Confederate States, was a native of South Carolina, but became a citizen of Louisiana by adoption, and married a daughter of General David E. Twiggs, then the Federal commander in Texas, who resigned his commission and entered the Confederate service. He was graduated at the United States military academy in 1833, and served in the war with Mexico. In the year 1860 he held position in the quartermaster's department of the United States service, with the rank of brevet lieutenant-colonel, and was stationed at New Orleans. On the 28th of January, 1861, he reported to Adjutant-General Samuel Cooper, of the United States army, that the State of Louisiana had taken possession of the public property in the custody of the Federal officers at New Orleans. The State having adopted the ordinance of secession, he on the same date, reported his resignation with a request that the settlement of his accounts be made up as early as possible. He then tendered his services to the Confederate government at Montgomery, and was appointed quartermaster-general. In this connection Mr. Davis has written: "In organizing the bureaus it was deemed advisable to select for the chief of each, officers possessing special knowledge of the duties to be

performed. The best assurance of that qualification was believed to be service creditably rendered in the several departments of the United States army before resigning from it. Brevet Lieutenant-Colonel A. C. Myers, who had held many important trusts in the United States quartermaster department, was appointed quartermaster-general with the rank of colonel." In this position Colonel Myers had the duty of organizing his department ab initio and providing for all the multifarious demands to be made upon it for clothing, transportation, etc., as the troops were rapidly called into the field. To this task he faithfully and conscientiously applied himself during the period of his service, March 15, 1861, to August 10, 1863. His death occurred at Washington, June 20, 1888.

Alexander Robert Lawton, who was quartermaster-general during the latter part of the conflict, was born in St. Peter's parish, South Carolina, November 4, 1818, the grandson of an officer of the Continental army. He was graduated at the United States military academy in 1839, and promoted second-lieutenant of the First artillery. Resigning in 1841, he studied law and was graduated by Harvard university. He practiced the profession at Savannah until 1849, then becoming, until 1854, president of the Augusta and Savannah railroad company. He sat in the legislature of Georgia as a representative in 1855-6 and as a senator in 1859-60. He was the first colonel of the First volunteer Georgia regiment, brigadier-general in command of the military district of Georgia in 1861, and served in Virginia in 1862, leading his fine brigade in the battles around Richmond, and subsequently in the campaign against Pope. Placed in command of a division he was in the thick of the battle of Sharpsburg, where he was so severely wounded as to be disabled for a considerable time. President Davis sought him out especially to take charge of the department

of quartermaster-general, and notwithstanding Lawton's earnest request to be returned to the field, the president persisted in appointing him as quartermaster-general. Lawton's judicious and thorough administration fully justified Mr. Davis, notwithstanding the army was deprived of a valuable general officer. The soldiers experienced an immediate relief in their supplies and the general transportation was remarkably improved. The one instance of the transportation of Longstreet's corps from the front of Richmond to make the important and victorious assault at Chickamauga is noted as one of the most famous achievements of official talent in any department during the Confederate war. General Lawton often sought the privilege of again fighting in the field, but his important department, in which he had won the grateful regards of the army, required his retention to the close. At the close of hostilities General Lawton resumed at Savannah the law practice in which he had established a high reputation as a clear and profound jurist. His services as a public officer were also required by the people of his State in resistance to the hurtful schemes of reconstruction, and in organizing a good State government. He was a member of the Georgia legislature from 1870 to 1875; vice president of the Georgia constitutional convention of 1877; chairman of the State electoral college of 1876; chairman of the State's delegations to the Democratic national conventions of 1880 and 1884. In 1885 he was nominated minister to Russia, but, as his political disabilities were not removed he urged the withdrawal of the nomination, but soon afterward, in December, all these disabilities by reason of his Confederate service were removed by unanimous vote of Congress, and in April, 1887, he was appointed minister to Austria. On his return from this mission he continued his residence at Savannah until his death in 1896.

Lucius Ballinger Northrup, commissary-general of the Confederacy, was born at Charleston, South Carolina, September 8, 1811. He pursued the career of a soldier, was graduated at West Point in 1829, and was stationed in the West for eight years with rank of second-lieutenant. On account of a wound he returned to Charleston on sick leave, and did not resume active service, though during the administration of the war department by Jefferson Davis, under President Pierce, he was re-instated and promoted to the rank of captain. This commission he was quick to resign at the call of his State, and after the provisional government was organized he accepted the office of commissary-general at the hands of President Davis, his class-mate at West Point. The first and probably the only problem incapable of solution by the Confederacy was the food supply for its armies during protracted war. The importance of rations for an army appears in consideration that an army without food for forty-eight hours becomes incapacitated by physical weakness for marching or fighting in organized battle. Mr. Northrup's commissary department was more onerous to him and important to the Confederacy than the department of state. The want of arms to fight with was the first felt by the Confederates, for in the beginning the food supply was sufficient and transportation was good. The energies of the new government were therefore directed chiefly to arm the regiments which were crowding to the field, while attention to the even more important matter of rations waited to be awakened by the reports from the field that the brave armies were on the verge of starvation. These reports aroused the people as well as the government, and by the usual assistance of captures of stores from General Banks and other involuntary purveyors for the Confederacy, the Confederate troops were sustained until the wear of railroads and the restriction of production and territory finally caused the most painful straits. The Federal authorities perceived

this danger to the Confederate cause and very early trained their guns upon the sources of food. The freedom of the negroes was urged because they were supplying the Confederate granaries; the value of Kentucky to the Union was estimated on the fertility of its soil; the valley of Virginia must be desolated until, according to Sheridan, who organized the barn-burning raids, a crow would perish in crossing its fields; the blockade was worth more than all the armies because it stopped the coming of medicines; the Trans-Mississippi must be severed from the other section on account of its steady outpour of supplies. Thus war was waged upon the commissariat of the Confederacy, and until that stronghold was carried the armies of the South still maintained their cause. Mr. Northrup met with difficulties which confronted him in an increasing force from year to year, the chief of which in the earliest stages was the probably unavoidable lack of systematic concentration and distribution, the faulty methods of collection, and a generous but unwise waste. Afterward the causes already mentioned rapidly broke the department down as a fully efficient factor in gaining the independence of the Confederacy. Privations to the extremity were endured by the Confederate soldiers, which the commissary department could not relieve. The charge made by the Northern press with the view of inflaming resentment against the South, as well as to stir the war fever at the North, that he starved the prisoners of war, has been disposed of by abundant reliable testimony and his administration only clearly shows how completely the Confederacy was undone by the exhaustion of its resources. After the fall of Richmond Mr. Northrup retired to North Carolina and engaged in farming, but in July, 1865, he was arrested by the Federal government and confined until November following. Upon liberation from this unjust political imprisonment he resumed his civil career at his residence near Charlotte, gaining a livelihood by farming.

Isaac Munroe St. John, commissary-general of the Confederate States during the closing days of the conflict, was a native of Augusta, Georgia, born November 19, 1827. He took a degree at Yale in 1845, studied law at New York city, and became an editor of the Baltimore Patriot in 1847. Then settling upon the profession of engineering he was engaged in railroad work, which brought him back to Georgia. At the outbreak of the war he entered the engineer corps, and was assigned to duty under General Magruder in Virginia, where he rendered valued service preparing the fortifications to oppose McClellan's first campaign. In May, 1862, he was made major and chief of the mining and nitre bureau, the sole reliance of our armies for gunpowder material. He was promoted through a colonelcy to the rank of brigadier-general, and was made commissary-general in 1865, in which position he established a system by which the supplies for the army were collected directly from the people and placed in depots for immediate transportation. After peace was restored he resumed engineering in Kentucky, was chief engineer of the Louisville, Cincinnati and Lexington railroad, built the Short Line to Cincinnati, was city engineer of Louisville, and from 1871 was chief engineer of the Lexington and Big Sandy railroad until his death, which occurred in West Virginia, April 7, 1880.

Josiah Gorgas, distinguished as chief of ordnance of the Confederate States, was born in Dauphin county, Pennsylvania, July 1, 1818. He was graduated at West Point as No. 6 in the class of 1841, and was assigned to the ordnance department of the United States army. In 1845-46 he was in Europe on leave of absence for the study of his profession in foreign lands, and in the year following his return he went into active service in the Mexican war. March 3, 1847, he was promoted first-lieutenant. He served with distinction in the siege of Vera

Cruz and was subsequently in charge of the ordnance depot at that point. On the return of peace he served as assistant ordnance officer at various arsenals until placed in command of Mt. Vernon arsenal, Alabama, in 1853. In December of that year he was married to the daughter of ex-Governor Gayle, of Mobile. He was promoted captain in 1855, transferred to Kennebec (Maine) arsenal in 1856, commanded the Charleston (S. C.) arsenal until 1860, and was then transferred to Pennsylvania. In the latter year he served as a member of the ordnance board. Resigning in April, 1861, he removed with his family to Alabama, and received from President Davis the appointment of chief of ordnance of the Confederate States, then "the most important scientific and administrative office in the government." Fully appreciating the great poverty of the South in this department, he promptly sent an efficient officer to Europe to procure arms, located arsenals, and made immediate preparation for the manufacture of powder and saltpeter, and the development of lead and copper mines, also preparing elaborate papers showing the proper distribution of heavy armament for effective defense against invasion. At an early date he insisted upon the use of cotton and tobacco to procure military supplies, and arranged for an effective service by blockade runners. Out of his suggestion and practical action grew the bureau of foreign supplies and the mining and nitre bureau. He displayed remarkable ability in the selection of officials for the work under his control, and impressed all those brought into intercourse with him, as an executive officer of remarkable energy and ability, though his modesty rendered him little known to the general public. "He created the ordnance department out of nothing," was the brief and comprehensive verdict of General J. E. Johnston. After the practical dissolution of the Confederate government at Charlotte, N. C., in the spring of 1865, he returned to Alabama, and promptly turned his activity

into industrial channels as superintendent of the Briarfield iron works. Soon afterward he was appointed headmaster and later vice-chancellor of the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee. In 1877 he became president of the University of Alabama, but after a brief tenure was compelled by failing health to resign. The trustees desiring his continued presence, he accepted the office of librarian, and was thus connected with the university until his death, May 15, 1883.

Joseph R. Davis, of Mississippi, became lieutenant-colonel Tenth Mississippi infantry April 12, 1861; aide-de-camp to the President, August 31, 1861; brigadier-general September 15, 1862; brigade composed of the Second, Eleventh, Twenty-sixth, Forty-second Mississippi regiments of infantry, First Confederate battalion, and Madison Light Artillery, Army of Northern Virginia. He was the son of Isaac Davis, elder brother of Jefferson Davis, a soldier of the war of 1812; grandson of Samuel Emory Davis, the revolutionary soldier; and great grandson of Evan Davis, who was prominent in colonial public affairs. General Davis was born in Wilkinson county, Miss., at Woodside, January 12, 1825, and was educated at Nashville, and at Miami university, Ohio, also being graduated from the law school of that State. He began the practice of law in 1851 and at the same time engaged extensively in farming. In 1860 he was elected to the legislature, but notwithstanding this civil position he entered at once into the military service of the Confederate States, as captain of a company from Madison county, soon being promoted lieutenant-colonel of the Tenth Mississippi infantry. While in this position he was requested by President Davis, his uncle, to whom he was greatly attached, to serve on his personal staff with the rank of colonel. After a year of valuable service in this capacity he was commissioned brigadier-general. His command was engaged in the battles of Vir-

ginia and gained special distinction by its fighting at Gettysburg. After the war General Davis returned to the practice of law and resumed in some measure the care of his farming interests. His home was at Biloxi, Miss., where he died September 15, 1896.

James Chestnut, Jr., aide-de-camp on the staff of President Davis, was born at Camden, South Carolina, in 1815. In that State his family had for many years been distinguished for patriotism and lofty character. He received his collegiate education at Princeton, with graduation in 1834, after which he devoted himself to that generous and hospitable life which was characteristic of the ante-bellum period in the South. In 1842 he was first elected to the State legislature, in which he served ten years as a member of the lower house and four years as a State senator, from 1854 to 1858. During this period of faithful public service he became widely known as a representative South Carolinian and esteemed for his integrity and capacity in public affairs. Promotion to higher trusts naturally followed in 1858, when he was elected to the United States Senate to fill a vacancy in the delegation of the State. In 1859, on account of the aggressive anti-slavery agitation, he tendered his resignation to the presiding officer of the Senate, but no action being taken he continued to conscientiously perform his duty in representation of his State, until South Carolina withdrew from the Union. He was one of the delegates of his State in the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, and served in that historic body with dignity and ability. Before the bombardment of Fort Sumter, serving as volunteer aide on the staff of General Beauregard, he and Captain Stephen D. Lee bore to Major Anderson the formal demand to surrender, and again with Beauregard at Manassas he was sent to Richmond about the middle of July to present to the President for consideration the plan of campaign which

Beauregard desired to adopt. Subsequently Senator Chestnut, who had served on an intimate footing with Mr. Davis in the United States Congress, was appointed aide-de-camp on the staff of the President, with rank of colonel of cavalry, and he held this position until commissioned brigadier-general in April, 1864, when he took command of a brigade on the coast of South Carolina. In 1868 he was a delegate to the national Democratic convention.

John Taylor Wood, aide-de-camp, staff of the President, was born at Fort Snelling, N. W. T., in 1831. His father was Surgeon General Robert C. Wood, of the United States army; his mother a daughter of President Zachary Taylor and sister of the first wife of President Davis. He entered the United States navy as a midshipman in 1847, served during the Mexican war on the Ohio and Brandywine, and in 1861 was assistant professor of seamanship and gunnery at Annapolis. Resigning his commission, he entered the service of Virginia, and was assigned to duty with the batteries at Evansport and Aquia Creek, blockading the Potomac. He was commissioned lieutenant in the Confederate navy October 4, 1861, and in January following was ordered to the Virginia, then preparing for service. He selected the volunteers for the crew from Magruder's soldiers; in the two days' fight in Hampton Roads, commanded the after-pivot gun; received the surrender of the Congress; and presented Commodore Buchanan's verbal report to President Davis. After the destruction of the Virginia, he was conspicuous as commander of the sharpshooters in the repulse of the Federal fleet at Drewry's Bluff, and subsequently received the appointment to the President's staff, with the rank of colonel of cavalry. He organized numerous boat expeditions against the enemy on Chesapeake bay and tributary waters, and inspected the Confederate water defenses on

the seaboard and at Port Hudson and Vicksburg. His most daring exploits were summarized in a "joint resolution of thanks to Commander John Taylor Wood and his officers and men," passed by the Confederate Congress, February 15, 1864, "for the daring and brilliantly executed plans which resulted in the capture of the U. S. transport schooner Elmore, on the Potomac river; of the ship Allegheny, and the U. S. gunboats Satellite and Reliance; and the U. S. transport schooners Golden Rod, Coquette, and Two Brothers, on the Chesapeake; and more recently in the capture from under the guns of the enemy's works of the U. S. gunboat Underwriter, on the Neuse river, near New Bern, N. C., with the officers and crews of the several vessels brought off as prisoners." He was promoted post captain; in August, 1864, commanded the cruiser Tallahassee in a cruise to Halifax and return, capturing thirty vessels; and in the winter of 1864-5 he was offered but declined the command of the James river squadron. He bore to President Davis the dispatch announcing the withdrawal from Petersburg, and accompanied the President in his journey southward. When Mr. Davis was captured he made his escape, and in company with General Breckinridge made his way to Florida, sailing thence in an open boat to Cuba. Since the war he has resided at Halifax.

John Burress Sale, of Mississippi, served as military secretary with rank of colonel of cavalry to General Braxton Bragg, who was assigned to duty at Richmond February 24, 1864, and under the direction of the President, was charged with the conduct of military operations in the armies of the Confederate States. Colonel Sale was thus brought into intimate relationship with the President's military staff. He was born in Amherst county, Virginia, June 7, 1818. His father, an eminent divine, moved to Alabama, and he was educated in the

college at LaGrange. He read law and was admitted to the bar in 1837, and two years later, at the age of twenty-one years, was chosen judge of probate. In 1845 he removed to Aberdeen, Mississippi, and there practiced law until 1861, when he organized a company of volunteers, which was assigned to the Twenty-seventh Mississippi regiment, of which he was commissioned major and subsequently lieutenant-colonel. He did duty as judge advocate of the army of Tennessee six months, and was then promoted colonel and ordered to report to General Bragg as chief of staff. On his return to Mississippi in 1865 he resumed his professional career, and held high rank among the jurists of the South. He died January 24, 1876.

William M. Browne, who rendered efficient service to the Confederate States in the capacity of assistant secretary of state, as well as in the military line of duty, was an Englishman of fine education, who came to America and became a naturalized citizen previous to 1861. For a time he edited a daily newspaper at Washington, D. C., with conspicuous ability. Upon the organization of the Confederate States he espoused the cause of secession, went South, and was appointed aide-de-camp on the staff of the President, with the rank of colonel of cavalry. In the department of organization work he served with fidelity and gained the appreciation and friendship of Mr. Davis. In December, 1864, he was commissioned brigadier-general, in which rank he served in command of a brigade under General H. W. Mercer at the siege of Savannah, Georgia, in the winter of 1864. General Browne had a remarkably attractive personal appearance and a courtly manner, which made all his acquaintances his friends. His acquirements as a scholar also, and his wide information in public affairs, were well-known and valued. After the close of hostilities he engaged in agriculture near Athens, Georgia, at the same

time editing and publishing a periodical called "The Farm and Home." Afterward he was elected professor of history and political economy in the university of Georgia, and he filled this chair with great credit until his death at Macon, Ga., in 1884.

Robert G. H. Kean, chief of the bureau of war, was born in Caroline county, Virginia, in October, 1828, and was educated at the university of Virginia. He engaged in the practice of law at Lynchburg until April, 1861, when he entered the service of Virginia as a private in the Eleventh regiment of infantry. In February, 1862, he was appointed to the staff of General G. W. Randolph, with the rank of captain, and the duties of assistant adjutant-general. When General Randolph became secretary of war in March, 1862, Mr. Kean was appointed by President Davis chief of the bureau of war, an office in the Confederate war department blending the duties of chief clerk and assistant secretary, which he held until the war ended, his final service being rendered at Charlotte, N. C. Since the close of the war he has been occupied with the practice of his profession at Lynchburg.

John M. Brooke, chief of the bureau of ordnance and hydrography, navy department, was born at Tampa Bay, Florida, in 1826. He became a midshipman in the United States navy in 1841, was graduated at Annapolis in 1847, and from 1851 to 1853 was stationed at the naval observatory, where he invented the deep-sea sounding lead, an achievement which brought to him the gold medal of science of the university of Berlin. He served subsequently with Ringgold's exploring expedition in the Pacific ocean, and engaged in marine surveys off the coast of Japan. In 1861 he resigned his commission as lieutenant, was commissioned lieutenant, C. S. N., and assigned to the ordnance department. He submitted

drawings to Secretary Mallory of an iron-clad war vessel with submerged ends, and had charge of devising, preparing and testing the armor and ordnance for the famous Virginia. He was subsequently promoted commander and made chief of the bureau of ordnance and hydrography, and continued to render important services until the close of the war. Soon afterward he was appointed to a professorship in the Virginia military institute, which he still holds.

John Henry Winder, provost marshal general, was born in Maryland in 1800, son of General W. H. Winder, a soldier of the war of 1812. He was graduated at the United States military academy in 1820; served at Fort McHenry and on the Florida frontier; resigned in August, 1823; was reappointed with rank of second-lieutenant of artillery, 1827; was promoted first-lieutenant, 1833; served in the Florida war; was promoted captain, 1842; served in the Mexican war at La Hoya, Ocalaca, Contreras, Churubusco, Chapultepec and City of Mexico; was brevetted major and lieutenant-colonel for gallantry; promoted major November 22, 1860; resigned April 27, 1861. He entered the Confederate service, was made brigadier-general and given command at Richmond, where he had charge of the Libby and Belle Isle military prisons. Subsequently he was assigned to command the prison camp at Andersonville, Georgia. He died at Columbia, South Carolina, February 7, 1865.

Robert Ould, chief of the bureau of exchange, was born January 31, 1820, at Georgetown, D. C. After a course of study in Jefferson college, Pennsylvania, he was graduated in letters at Columbia college, Washington, D. C., in 1837, and in law at William and Mary college, in 1842. Subsequently he practiced the profession of law at Washington until 1861. Notable events in his antebellum legal career were his service on the commission

under President Pierce for the codification of the District laws, and his appointment to the District attorneyship, in which office one of his first duties was the prosecution of Daniel E. Sickles for the killing of Philip Barton Key. He held the office of District attorney until after the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, when he went with his family to Virginia. In 1861 he was appointed assistant secretary of war of the Confederate States, a post he held during Mr. Benjamin's tenure of that portfolio. Under the cartel of exchange of prisoners of war, arranged by Generals Dix and Hill, in July, 1862, Mr. Ould was appointed agent of exchange on behalf of the Confederacy, and in this position, which he held during the continuance of hostilities, he earned the respect of all parties by his earnest and humane efforts to effect the exchange of brave and suffering prisoners, and his careful attention to all the details of his office. At Appomattox he tendered his parole to General Grant, who declined to treat him as a prisoner, not regarding an officer of exchange as liable to capture, and sent him under safeguard to Richmond. He was subsequently imprisoned by order of Secretary Stanton, indicted for treason and tried by a military commission, which was compelled under the law to acquit him. He then resumed the practice of law at Richmond, Va. The misrepresentations which abounded during the first decade after the war elicited several able papers from his pen, which will remain as authoritative regarding the efforts made by the Confederate authorities to lessen the suffering caused by war. The proof has been fully made that the Confederate government fully and fairly urged exchange of prisoners from the beginning to the end of the struggle.

James D. Bulloch, distinguished in the foreign service of the Confederate States, was a native of Georgia, and at an early age became a midshipman in the United States navy, in the year 1839. He sailed on

the United States from Boston to Norfolk, was there transferred to the Potomac, with which he served on the Brazil station. On this frigate, and the sloop Decatur he served until 1842, when he obtained transfer to the battleship Delaware, and shared the honors of her famous cruise in the Mediterranean. During part of 1844-45 he attended the naval school at Philadelphia, passing second in his class, and then returned to active service, being on duty on the Pacific coast during the Mexican war, and undergoing great perils in the wreck of the Shark off the mouth of the Columbia river, and in 1849 beginning a two years' service in the coast survey. He succeeded Admiral (then lieutenant) D. D. Porter in command of the Georgia, the first subsidized mail steamer to California, and subsequently commanded various vessels in the gulf mail service. When the Georgia convention passed the ordinance of secession, a resolution was adopted declaring that the allegiance of those of its citizens in the army and navy was due to the State, and calling upon them to resign their Federal commissions. Lieutenant Bulloch at once obeyed this summons, and was commissioned commander, C. S. N. On account of his long and varied experience in the navy, having served on every class of war vessel, as well as having superintended the construction of two mail ships, he was selected by the Confederate government to perform duties of great importance as naval agent in England. He accepted this duty on condition that he should command the first cruiser fitted out in England, but he proved to be of such value to the government, not only in the providing of the proper vessels, but in aiding the diplomatic negotiations that he sacrificed his inclinations at the repeated requests of the secretary of the navy. He remained at his post of duty during the war, and subsequently continued to reside at Liverpool. He was an accomplished scholar and thoroughly a master of maritime and international law. His

General Samuel Cooper.
General Robert E. Lee.

General Pierre G. T. Beauregard.
General Albert Sidney Johnston.

position regarding his rights in procuring men-of-war was sustained by the English courts, but the subsequent shifting policy made his work one of great difficulty. In spite of all obstacles, however, he furnished the Confederacy the famous cruisers Florida, Alabama and Shenandoah, built or purchased in England, and the ram Stonewall, constructed in France.

Robert Edward Lee, general-in-chief of the Confederate States army, is placed by general fame as well as by the cordial suffrage of the South, first among all Southern military chieftains. By official rank he held that position in the Confederate States army, and his right to the primacy there is none to dispute. Considered as a true type of the American developed through the processes by which well-sustained free government proves and produces a high order of manly character, he fully and justly gained the distinguished esteem with which all America claims him as her own. Beyond the borders of this continent, which men of his caste long ago consecrated to freedom at altars that smoked with sacrifice, and extending over oceans east and west into the old world's realms, his name has gone to be honored, his character to be admired, and his military history to be studied alongside the work of the great masters of war. Happy, indeed, are the Southern people in knowing him to be their own, while they surrender his fame to become a part of their country's glory.

General Lee's lineage and collateral kindred constitute an array of illustrious characters, but certainly without dispraise of any, and without unduly exalting himself, it can be calmly written down that he was the greatest of all his race. Unaware he was of his own distinction. Unaware also of a common sentiment was each of his people who cherished an individual feeling in the years which followed his public service until the consensus came into open view, where all men saw that all true men honored his name and revered his memory.

Contrast of Lee with other men will not be instituted, because there were indeed others great like himself, and he more than others would deplore a contest for premiership in fame. The most that can be said in any mingling of his name with other illustrious characters has been uttered in the wonderfully felicitous and graphic sentences of Benjamin H. Hill, which may be repeated here, because of their brilliant and true characterization:

"When the future historian shall come to survey the character of Lee he will find it rising like a huge mountain above the undulating plane of humanity, and he must lift his eyes high toward heaven to catch its summit. He possessed every virtue of other great commanders without their vices. He was a foe without hate; a friend without treachery; a soldier without cruelty; a victor without oppression; and a victim without murmuring. He was a public officer without vices; a private citizen without wrong; a neighbor without reproach; a Christian without hypocrisy and a man without guile. He was a Cæsar without his ambition; Frederick without his tyranny; Napoleon without his selfishness; and Washington without his reward. He was obedient to authority as a servant, and royal in authority as a true king. He was gentle as a woman in life; modest and pure as a virgin in thought; watchful as a Roman vestal in duty; submissive to law as Socrates; and grand in battle as Achilles."

It will be understood by all who read any biographical sketch of one so eminent as the Southern military leader thus portrayed in Mr. Hill's splendid words, that the facts of his life must sustain the eulogy. Fortunately this support appears even in the cold recital which is here attempted. General Lee was born at Stratford, Virginia, January 19, 1807, and was eleven years old on the death of his chivalric father, General Henry Lee, the "Light Horse Harry" of the American revolution. In boyhood he was taught in the schools of Alexandria, chiefly by

Mr. William B. Leary, an Irishman, and prepared for West Point by Mr. Benjamin Hallowell. He entered the National military academy in 1825, and was graduated in 1829, without a demerit and with second honors. During these youthful years he was remarkable in personal appearance, possessing a handsome face and superb figure, and a manner that charmed by cordiality and won respect by dignity. He was thoroughly moral, free from the vices, and while "full of life and fun, animated, bright and charming," as a contemporary describes him, he was more inclined to serious than to gay society.

He married Mary Custis, daughter of Washington Parke Custis, and grand-daughter of Martha Washington, at Arlington, Va., June 30, 1831. Their children were G. W. Custis, Mary, W. H. Fitzhugh, Annie, Agnes, Robert and Mildred.

At his graduation he was appointed second-lieutenant of engineers and by assignment engaged in engineering at Old Point and on the coasts. In 1834 he was assistant to the chief engineer at Washington; in 1835 on the commission to mark the boundary line between Ohio and Michigan; in 1836 promoted first lieutenant, and in 1838, captain of engineers. In 1837 he was ordered to the Mississippi river, in association with Lieutenant Meigs (afterward general) to make special surveys and plans for improvements of navigation; in 1840 a military engineer; in 1842 stationed at Fort Hamilton, New York; and in 1844 one of the board of visitors at West Point. Captain Lee was with General Wool in the beginning of the Mexican war, and at the special request of General Scott was assigned to the personal staff of that commander. When Scott landed 12,000 men south of Vera Cruz, Captain Lee established the batteries which were so effective in compelling the surrender of the city. The advance which followed met with serious resistance from Santa Anna at Cerro Gordo. Here Captain Lee made the reconnoissances and in three days' time placed batteries

in positions which Santa Anna had judged inaccessible, enabling Scott to carry the heights and rout the enemy. In his report Scott wrote: "I am compelled to make special mention of Captain R. E. Lee," and the brevet as major was accorded the skillful artilleryman. The valley of Mexico was the scene of the next military operations, and here Lee continued to serve with signal ability and personal bravery. One act of daring General Scott afterward referred to as "the greatest feat of physical and moral courage performed by any individual in my knowledge pending the campaign." Having participated in the daylight assault which carried the entrenchments of Contreras, Captain Lee was soon afterward engaged in the battles of Churubusco and Molino del Rey, gaining promotion to brevet lieutenant-colonel. In the storming at Chapultepec, one of the most brilliant affairs of the war, he was severely wounded, and won from General Scott, in his official report, appreciative mention as being "as distinguished for execution as for science and daring." After Chapultepec he was recommended for the rank of colonel. The City of Mexico was next taken and the war ended.

Among the officers with Lee in Mexico were Grant, Meade, McClellan, Hancock, Sedgwick, Hooker, Burnside, Thomas, McDowell, A. S. Johnston, Beauregard, T. J. Jackson, Longstreet, Loring, Hunt, Magruder, and Wilcox, all of whom seemed to have felt for him a strong attachment. Reverdy Johnson said he had heard General Scott more than once say that his "success in Mexico was largely due to the skill, valor and undaunted energy of Robert E. Lee." Jefferson Davis, in a public address at the Lee memorial meeting November 3, 1870, said: "He came from Mexico crowned with honors, covered with brevets, and recognized, young as he was, as one of the ablest of his country's soldiers." General Scott said with emphasis: "Lee is the greatest military genius in America." Every general officer with whom

he personally served in Mexico made special mention of him in official reports. General Persifer Smith wrote: "I wish to record particularly my admiration of the conduct of Captain Lee, of the engineers—the soundness of his judgment and his personal daring being equally conspicuous." General Shields referred to him as one "in whose skill and judgment I had the utmost confidence." General Twiggs declared "his gallantry and good conduct deserve the highest praise," and Colonel Riley bore "testimony to the intrepid coolness and gallantry exhibited by Captain Lee when conducting the advance of my brigade under the heavy flank fire of the enemy."

In the subsequent years of peace Lee was assigned first to important duties in the corps of military engineers with headquarters at Baltimore, from 1849 to 1852, and then served as superintendent of the military academy at West Point until 1855, when he was promoted brevet lieutenant-colonel and assigned to the Second cavalry, commanded by Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston. This remarkably fine regiment included among its officers besides Johnston and Lee, Hardee, Thomas, VanDorn, Fitz Lee, Kirby Smith, and Stoneman, later distinguished in the Confederate war. With this regiment Lee shared the hardships of frontier duty, defending the western frontier of Texas against hostile Indians from 1856 until the spring of 1861. In October, 1859, he was at Washington in obedience to command, and fortunately so, as during his visit occurred the John Brown raid. President Buchanan selected him to suppress the movement, which he did with prompt vigor, after giving the proper summons to Brown to surrender. Returning to Texas, he was in command of the department in 1860 and early in 1861, while the Southern States were passing ordinances of secession, and with sincere pain observed the progress of dissolution. Writing January 23, 1861, he said that the South had been aggrieved by the acts of the North, and that he felt the aggression and was willing to take

every proper step for redress. But he anticipated no greater calamity than a dissolution of the Union and would sacrifice everything but honor for its preservation. He termed secession a revolution, but said that a Union that can only be maintained by swords and bayonets had no charms for him. "If the Union is dissolved and the government disrupted, I shall return to my native State and share the miseries of my people; and save in defense will draw my sword on none."

About a month later Lee was summoned to Washington to report to General Scott and reached the capital on the 1st of March, only a few days before the inauguration of Lincoln. He was then just fifty-four years of age, and dating from his cadetship at West Point had been in the military service of the government about thirty-six years. He had reached the exact prime of maturity; in form, features, and general bearing the type of magnificent manhood; educated to thoroughness; cultivated by extensive reading, wide experience, and contact with the great men of the period; with a dauntless bravery tested and improved by military perils in many battles; his skill in war recognized as of the highest order by comrades and commanders; and withal a patriot in whom there was no guile and a man without reproach. Bearing this record and character, Lee appeared at the capital of the country he loved, hoping that wisdom in its counsels would avert coercion and that this policy would lead to reunion. Above all others he was the choice of General Scott for the command of the United States army, and the aged hero seems to have earnestly urged the supreme command upon him. Francis P. Blair also invited him to a conference and said, "I come to you on the part of President Lincoln to ask whether any inducement that he can offer will prevail on you to take command of the Union army." To this alluring offer Lee at once replied courteously but candidly that though "opposed to secession and deprecating war he would take no part in the

invasion of the Southern States." His resignation followed at once, and repairing to Virginia, he placed his stainless sword at the service of his imperiled State and accepted the command of her military forces. The commission was presented to him in the presence of the Virginia convention on April 23, 1861, by Mr. Janney, the president of that body, with ceremonies of great impressiveness, and General Lee entered at once upon duties which absorbed his thought and engaged his heart. The position thus assigned confined him at first to a narrowed area, but he diligently organized the military strength of Virginia and surveyed the field over which he foresaw the battles for the Confederacy would be fought. As late as April 25 he wrote, "No earthly act would give me so much pleasure as to restore peace to my country, but I fear it is now out of the power of man, and in God alone must be our trust. I think our policy should be purely on the defensive, to resist aggression and allow time to allay the passions and permit reason to resume her sway."

The Confederate government in May, 1861, employed his splendid talent for organization, an advantageous employment, indeed, but one that kept him from that command in the field for which he was eminently qualified. Subsequently the expeditions in the West Virginia campaign were attended with such peculiar disadvantages that General Lee had the mortification of observing a sudden and unjust waning of his reputation. Thus his service in the field for which he was best fitted was still further postponed, and he spent the winter of 1861 in command of the department of Georgia, South Carolina and Florida, to which he was assigned by President Davis, giving his talents as an engineer to organization of a system of coast defense. From these duties he was called in March, 1862, to become the military adviser of the President, a position in which he gave constant attention to the movements of the enemy as

well as to the Confederate means of defense, and was in readiness to assume any duty that might be assigned.

The severe wounding of General J. E. Johnston, at the battle of Seven Pines, and the illness of General G. W. Smith, next in rank, brought to him the command of the army of Northern Virginia, which he immediately led to successive victories over the great armies of McClellan, Pope, Burnside and Hooker, attaining for himself, in a few months, a fame for generalship which spread over the world.

His subsequent career throughout the Confederate struggle was distinguished by his regard for the humane usages of war; his exhibition of great military skill; a spirited personal courage, as well as that nerve of leadership that impelled him to give battle whenever he saw an opportunity to strike an effective blow; a courteous bearing toward his officers and a tender concern for the welfare of the men in line; an untiring attention to details and an unexcelled devotion to duty. All these characteristics and much more were made apparent as the war wore on to its disastrous end.

The details which establish his reputation as a military genius are to be found in all the books which have been written on the Confederate war. Referring to them for special information we pass on to see him at Appomattox, nobly yielding himself and his army when resistance was no longer possible, and then departing for his home, to refuse offers of place that would bring profit and high civil position, and finally turning his glorious life into channels of beneficent influence.

With clear insight into all the merits of the cause for which he drew his sword in 1861, he wrote on January 5, 1866: "All that the South has ever desired was that the Union as established by our fathers should be preserved, and that the government as originally organized should be administered in purity and truth." Six months later he wrote: "I had no other guide, nor had I any other

object than the defense of those principles of American liberty upon which the constitutions of the several States were originally founded, and unless they are strictly observed I fear there will be an end of Republican government in this country."

He lived only a few years after the fall of the Confederacy, and those years were nearly all spent in service as president of the Washington-Lee college. The anxieties of his military life had changed his hair to gray, but he was still in vigorous health. His nearest friends alone saw that his sympathy for the misfortunes of his people became a malady which physicians could not remove. With sincere purpose to observe his parole, and, after all military operations had ceased, to lend his influence fully to peace, he carefully avoided all things which would irritate the people in power. Rigidly preserving his convictions, as he felt he must do, he nevertheless promoted the restoration of harmony among the people of the whole country. Thus his life passed until he was suddenly seized with sickness on the 28th of September, 1870, at his home in Lexington, and on Wednesday morning, October 12th, he died in the Christian's faith, which he had all his life confessed. Demonstrations of sorrow as sincere as they were imposing manifested the great love of his own people in the South, but these exhibitions also extended into the North, and from the European press America learned how highly the eminent Confederate was esteemed abroad. "The grave of this noble hero is bedewed with the most tender and sacred tears ever shed upon a human tomb. A whole nation has risen up in the spontaneity of its grief to render the tribute of its love." His name will lure his countrymen to revere truth and pay devotion to duty, and until the nation ceases to be free the glory of his character will be cherished as priceless national treasure.

General Albert Sidney Johnston was born February 3, 1803, at Washington, Kentucky, in descent maternally from the pioneers of that State. His father, Dr. John Johnston, the village physician, was a native of Connecticut. He was "a handsome, proud, manly, earnest and self-reliant boy," "grave and thoughtful." After studying at the Transylvania university he was appointed to the national military academy, where he was, graduated in 1826, and promoted to a lieutenancy in the Second infantry. Subsequently he served as adjutant of the Sixth regiment; won distinction in the Black Hawk war; and resigned his commission in 1834. In 1835 occurred the death of his wife, Henrietta Preston, whom he had married six years before, and in 1836 he enlisted as a private in the military forces of Texas, then struggling for independence. Here he rose speedily in rank to brigadier-general and succeeded General Houston as commander-in-chief. In 1839 he was secretary of war of Texas, and expelled the hostile Cherokees after two battles on the River Neches. In 1846 he entered the Mexican war as colonel of the First Texas infantry, became inspector general of Butler's division, and was recommended by General Taylor for promotion to brigadier-general for his conduct at Monterey. After one campaign he retired to a plantation in Brazoria county, Texas, and remained in seclusion until appointed paymaster with the rank of major, by President Taylor, in October, 1849. From President Pierce he received a commission as colonel of the Second cavalry, U. S. A., and in 1857 he conducted the famous military expedition to Utah, saving the army from frightful disaster by his prudence and executive ability. He remained in command in Utah until the summer of 1860, and in December of that year was assigned to the command of the department of California. As soon as he was informed of the secession of Texas he resigned his commission, but honorably concealed his action and continued to carry out the orders of the United

States government, until relieved by General Sumner. From Washington he was sent a major-general's commission, and confidential assurances of the highest command, but he declined to fight against his own people and retired to Los Angeles with the intention of farming. Soon he found that the call from his friends could not be resisted, and he made his way overland to Richmond, on the way assisting in the organization of the new territory of Arizona for the Confederacy. He was met with great enthusiasm in the Confederate States, and was at once given the rank of general, being the first Confederate commander to wear that honor. On September 10, 1861, he was assigned to the command of all the Confederate territory lying west of the Alleghanies, except the Gulf coast, and powers of commensurate range. Though very weak in men and munitions, having, in fact, available but one tenth the number in opposition, he threw his force forward under Buckner to Bowling Green, Ky., and appealed to the governors and Richmond for assistance. But the magnitude of the struggle was not then realized. He was never able to assemble more than 22,000 men at Bowling Green, while the Federal strength was increased to 100,000. Early in 1862 all the resources of the Northwest were turned against him. To meet Grant with 28,000 troops he left 17,000 at Fort Donelson under Floyd, Pillow and Buckner, while to guard Nashville from Buell's army, he fell back to the Cumberland with an effective force of about 9,000. When he received the news of the surrender of Donelson, he began a concentration at Corinth, Miss., and was able to assemble an army of 23,000 by the latter part of March, which was now strongly reinforced by the Confederate government, until he had about 40,000 effective soldiers. At this period he was bitterly criticised, and deputations to the President demanded his removal, to whom Mr. Davis replied: "If Sidney Johnston is not a general, I have none." But Johnston bore himself with serenity and

planned a campaign which should restore the public confidence. Corinth was the base from whence he could concentrate his whole force in front of the great bend of the Tennessee, and crush Grant before Buell could reinforce him. In this movement, Beauregard, as the second in command, elaborated his general orders. In the actual march to the field there was some confusion and delay, so that the attack at Shiloh was postponed an entire day. At the opening of the fight on the 6th of April, 1862, he rode along the lines inspiring his men to enthusiasm and daring. He carried on the battle as he had planned, to "turn the left flank of the enemy, throw him back on Owl creek where he will be compelled to surrender."

Success everywhere attended the Confederate arms, till finally, to gain a difficult position, Johnston rode before the brigades of Bowen and Statham, and reaching the center turned and led a charge that swept the enemy to the rear. At the height of success a minie ball from the retreating foe pierced an artery of his leg, and through his neglect of the wound while giving orders to the troops, his death speedily followed. The victory had been won, but the heroic mind that had determined nothing less than the capture of Grant was gone, and the fighting which followed on that field was in vain. The body of the great leader was conveyed to New Orleans and there interred with august ceremony. Though his life was lost at Shiloh, and with it, it may be said, the possession of the West by the Confederacy, yet he had the personal triumph of complete restoration in the affections of the Southern people.

General Joseph E. Johnston, son of Peter Johnston and Mary Wood Johnston, was born in Prince Edward county, Virginia, on February 7, 1807. His father was a lieutenant in Lee's legion, having run away from college at the age of seventeen to join it as it passed through Virginia to reinforce the army of Greene. His mother was a niece of Patrick Henry. In 1811 his parents removed to a place

near Abingdon in Southwest Virginia, his father having been made judge, and here he spent his youth, devoted largely to the manly pleasures of the chase in that wild region. In 1825 he was appointed a cadet to West Point, entering it as one of nine Virginians, another being Robert E. Lee, who was two weeks his senior. They graduated together, being the only two of the nine who endured to the end, and there they formed the friendship which they had inherited from their fathers of the Legion—a friendship which was co-extensive with their eventful lives. Johnston's first military service was in the Seminole war. In a fight near Jupiter Inlet, a small body of soldiers and sailors under Lieutenant Powell was surprised by an Indian force and put to flight. It would have been annihilated but for Johnston's skill and bravery. He rallied a few regulars, interposed them as a rear-guard and covered the retreat. He was severely wounded and his clothing had thirty bullet-holes in it.

On July 10, 1845, he married Lydia McLane, daughter of Louis McLane of Baltimore, but the outbreak of the Mexican war the next year carried him away to active service. He accompanied the army of Scott, first in the Engineer corps, but soon he was made lieutenant-colonel of voltigeurs. At Cerro Gordo he was twice severely wounded while making a daring reconnoissance. He took an active part in the battles around the city of Mexico, gaining special distinction at Contreras, Molino del Rey and Chapultepec. In this last named fight his command was the first to enter the enemy's works, and he himself was wounded three times. In 1860 he was appointed quartermaster-general to succeed General Jesup. Scott had suggested four names from which to make the selection, viz: Joseph E. Johnston, Robert E. Lee, Albert Sidney Johnston and Charles F. Smith.

When Virginia seceded, Johnston came South as soon as he could settle his accounts. He was one of the five brigadier-generals first appointed, and was assigned to

the command of the Virginia valley army, confronting the force under Patterson, which was much superior in numbers. On hearing of McDowell's advance on Manassas, he eluded Patterson with rare address, and moved to Manassas, taking command as ranking officer. Finding that Beauregard had greatly weakened the left under the idea that McDowell would attempt to turn the Southern right, Johnston directed his own troops to that part of the line. The brunt of the fight was borne by his troops under Jackson, Bee, Bartow and Elzey, and two-thirds of the Southern loss fell upon his men. At a crisis in the battle he himself seized a standard and led a broken regiment back to the fight. Soon after the battle he was made a full general, which was the highest rank in the Confederate service. In the fall he was placed in command of this army, and though it was weaker than at any subsequent winter of the war, and its opponent stronger, he held with it the lines of Centreville, far in advance of any position subsequently held as a winter camp by the Confederates.

In the early spring of 1862 he withdrew to a position near Richmond, frustrating McClellan's plan of a landing at Urbana, which was nearer to Richmond than the Southern army, and forcing McClellan to adopt the peninsular route. When the latter moved upon Yorktown, Johnston again confronted him, withdrawing up the peninsula when Yorktown became untenable, securing an undisturbed retreat and severely punishing his pursuers in the battle of Williamsburg and the smaller fight at Eltham's Landing. When he reached the Richmond lines he was opposed not only by McClellan with a much superior force, but threatened by McDowell at Fredericksburg. To neutralize the latter he concerted with Jackson, who was in his department, the latter's famous valley campaign. On May 31, 1862, McClellan's army was divided by the Chickahominy, and Johnston, taking advantage of this, attacked him at Seven Pines.

Vexatious delays occurred, but by nightfall he had separated the Federal left, and purposed to finish it the next day. About dusk he was wounded in the shoulder by a musket ball, and a moment afterward was completely disabled by a shell. General Gustavus W. Smith, who first succeeded him, did not follow up his advantage; and when General Lee was assigned to the command later the opportunity had passed. After a long convalescence General Johnston reported for duty, and late in 1862 he was assigned to the Western command, an unsatisfactory position where he controlled no army of his own but had to supervise Bragg and Pemberton. He advised the union of the Trans-Mississippi troops with Pemberton's for the overthrow of the forces threatening Vicksburg, and advised against attempting to reinforce Pemberton from Bragg, as the two were each facing superior numbers and were too far apart for mutual support. His advice, however, was not heeded.

When Grant landed a portion of his army south of Vicksburg, Johnston wired Pemberton to draw his forces out of the lines and attack him, but Pemberton hugged the vicinity of Vicksburg and allowed Grant to interpose between him and Johnston despite the latter's orders to move toward Johnston for a junction. Grant was thus enabled to coop up Pemberton in Vicksburg by an army of 75,000 men against which Johnston's force of 28,000 could not hope to succeed. The opinion has been given that the repeated disregard of Johnston's orders resulted in the loss of Vicksburg and its army.

Bragg's terrible defeat at Missionary Ridge was followed by his removal from command of the army of Tennessee, and late in December, 1863, Johnston was given charge of it. He found it at Dalton dispirited by the late defeat and weakened in numbers, equipments, and artillery. Opposed to it was Sherman with more than double its strength, composed of the best troops of the North. December 31st the effective total of infantry

and artillery of Johnston's army, including two brigades of the Mississippi department, was 36,826. The effective total of cavalry, including Roddy's command at Tuscumbia, was 5,613. The winter was mainly employed by General Johnston in improving the discipline and equipment of his army, through which course he soon gained the confidence of the command. The enemy made several decided demonstrations during these months of the winter, which were so gallantly repulsed that on February 27, 1864, Johnston suggested through General Bragg that preparations for a forward movement be made without delay. In the meantime the Federal army was being increased to a larger force of all arms, and evidently contemplating the advance which Sherman made on the 5th of May, thus opening the famous Atlanta campaign. By cautiously entrenching a portion of his immensely superior force and using the remainder for flanking he gradually forced back Johnston towards Atlanta. The campaign was a continuous daily combat, in which the Southern army, handled with masterly skill by General Johnston, acting on the defensive and never once broken, inflicted losses largely disproportionate to its own, and only withdrew from any line of battle to avoid being flanked. Not until the middle of July did Sherman reach the vicinity of Atlanta, having been forced by Johnston to take seventy days to traverse one hundred miles. Here he found himself with a long and difficult line of communication, while Johnston, having reached his base, could no longer be flanked and only had to await the result of breaking his antagonist's communications, which movement he now proposed to complete. At this crisis of the campaign the President removed him and replaced him by Hood, whose army was not long afterwards wrecked.

After this removal Johnston was without a command until late in February, 1865, when General Lee, who had just been made commander-in-chief, assigned to him the

scattered remnants of the Southern forces in North Carolina for the purpose of opposing Sherman's northward march. After great effort he succeeded in concentrating about 19,000 men of all arms, and with them attacked and repulsed Sherman's left wing of about 33,000 men at Bentonville on March 19th. Sherman thereupon concentrated against him his entire force, about 70,000 strong, and Johnston withdrew.

On the surrender of Lee, Johnston opened negotiations with Sherman looking to a cessation of hostilities, and the result was their convention, which was practically a treaty of peace. It was disavowed, however, by the Federal government immediately after the assassination of President Lincoln. On April 26, 1865, the generals met again and Johnston capitulated on honorable terms, the same that had been agreed on between Lee and Grant, thus closing his military career in high honor and holding both the esteem and affection of the Southern soldiers.

After the close of the war he led an industrious though quiet life, winning the respect of friend and foe. He served a term in Congress from the Richmond district of Virginia. He was selected as one of the pall-bearers at the funeral of General Grant, and later at the funeral of General Sherman, his old antagonist. He died in Washington City on March 21, 1891. His military reputation has constantly grown as it has been closely studied. Grant and Sherman are said to have reckoned him as the ablest general of the South. Colonel Chesney, the eminent English military writer, classes him with Turenne, and Lord Wolseley has expressed himself hardly less strongly. Lee, Jackson and Johnston will ever rank as the great triumvirate of Virginians, who were by general consensus of opinion the greatest military leaders of the South. His services during the Civil war were related by him in his work called Johnston's Narrative, which he published in 1874. A less technical and briefer account is contained in the biography written at his request by his grand-nephew, Robert M. Hughes, and published in 1893.

General Pierre Gustave Toutant-Beauregard was born near the city of New Orleans, May 28, 1818. He was of French lineage which is traced back to the thirteenth century. His great-grandfather, Jacques Toutant-Beauregard, came to Louisiana under Louis XIV as commandant of a flotilla. The mother of the general was Helene Judith de Reggio, whose grandfather, Francois Marie, Chevalier de Reggio, a descendant of the house of Este, after serving with Richelieu in the French army, was sent to Louisiana with his command, and subsequently was royal standard-bearer under the Spanish dominion. From his eleventh to his fifteenth year he was under the tutelage at New York of two retired officers of the French army, who had served under Napoleon, and at the age of sixteen he was appointed to the West Point military academy. He was graduated second in the class of 1838, with promotion to second-lieutenant of engineers. He served as assistant engineer in the building of coast defenses, was promoted first-lieutenant June 16, 1839, and was engaged in engineering duty at New Orleans and vicinity and in Maryland until the Mexican war. In March, 1847, he joined the army under General Scott.

He distinguished himself at the siege of Vera Cruz, in several bold reconnoissances before the battle of Cerro Gordo, for gallant action at Contreras and Churubusco received the brevet of captain, and at Chapultepec won the brevet of major. His plan for the reduction of the City of Mexico was adopted successfully, and he received two honorable wounds in the course of the assault. Subsequently he superintended the construction and repair of fortresses for the defense of New Orleans and Mobile, and other important engineering duties, with promotion to captain in 1853, until on January 23, 1861, he was appointed superintendent of the United States military academy. This position and his rank in the army he resigned February 20, 1861, and on March 1st he entered the Confederate service with the rank of briga-

dier-general. Placed in command at Charleston, where he received the surrender of Fort Sumter, he was immediately the center of world-wide attention. Then called to command the army of the Potomac, he won still greater fame by the disastrous rout of the Federal army of invasion at Manassas, and was immediately promoted to the rank of general, Samuel Cooper and Albert Sidney Johnston being his only seniors in that grade. In the spring of 1862 he was ordered to Tennessee as second in command to General Johnston, and on the death of that officer took command at Shiloh. On the second day of that eventful struggle it is remembered that a Confederate officer of high rank, flag in hand, led the charge of a Louisiana regiment in one of their desperate charges, and that when remonstrated with for the dangerous exposure he replied with flashing eyes, "At a moment like this, the order must not be to go, but follow." This intrepid leader was the cool-couraged Beauregard, the victor of First Manassas. After the Corinth campaign his health failed, and he was on leave of absence until August, when he was placed in command at Charleston. His defense of that city and harbor is memorable in the annals of war. For nearly two years, with scant and inadequate resources, the Confederates inspired by his leadership held over three hundred miles of coast against formidable attacks. The world will not soon forget the defeat in April, 1863, of Dupont's iron-clads and Hunter's army; the prolonged resistance of the works on Morris Island to attacks by land and sea; the masterly evacuation of works no longer tenable; nor the holding of Fort Sumter in August, 1863, under the most terrible bombardment on record, which battered the works into ruins but left an unconquered flag, until in other quarters the war was lost. In April, 1864, he was called to Richmond, where he organized a little army, defeated Butler and held Petersburg. In October he was appointed commander-in-chief of the division of the West, and in De-

cember his department was enlarged to include South Carolina and the Georgia coast. Relieved by General J. E. Johnston in February, 1865, he voluntarily assisted that commander during the closing period and surrendered with him in April, 1865. After the war he resided in New Orleans, became president of two important railroad companies and served as adjutant-general of the State, preserving to an advanced age an alert and active manhood. He died February 20, 1893.

General Braxton Bragg was born in Warren county, North Carolina, March 22, 1817. He was graduated fifth in the class of 1837 at the United States military academy, and received his lieutenancy in the artillery. He served mainly in Florida during the Indian troubles, until 1843, then was in garrison at Fort Moultrie until 1845, when he took part in the occupation of Texas. In the subsequent war with Mexico he served with distinguished gallantry, and was brevetted captain for conduct in defense of Fort Brown, major for valor at Monterey, and lieutenant-colonel for his special services at Buena Vista. He became captain, Third artillery, June, 1846, was on the staff of General Gaines, and on garrison duty until 1855, when he declined promotion to major of First cavalry. He resigned January 3, 1856, and became a planter at Thibodeaux, Louisiana, serving his State, 1859-61, as commissioner of public works. In February, 1861, he was put in command of the army of Louisiana, and on March 7th was commissioned brigadier-general in the provisional army of the Confederate States, and assigned to the command of the troops and defenses at Pensacola, which he held until January 27, 1862, in the meantime having been promoted major-general and lieutenant-general and assigned to the command of the department of Alabama and West Florida. In March, 1862, he marched his forces to Corinth, whence in command of the second corps of the army he participated in

the movement against Grant and the battle of Shiloh. In this famous combat Albert Sidney Johnston fell, and Beauregard succeeded to the general command, while Bragg was promoted general and assigned to the command of the army of the Mississippi, with Polk, Hardee and Breckinridge as his corps commanders. When after the evacuation of Corinth the army had retired to Tupelo, Beauregard, on account of illness, turned over the command temporarily to Bragg and went to Mobile. Beauregard was thereupon relieved and Bragg appointed as his successor. He was now in command of the department and all the forces arrayed against the Federal invasion between the Mississippi river and Atlanta, except the command of General Kirby Smith, in East Tennessee. He planned a campaign into Kentucky before Buell was ready to oppose him, hoping by a bold offensive movement to arouse the friends of the Confederate cause in the border States and drive the enemy beyond the Ohio. He transferred his troops to Chattanooga, and set out on his northward movement about the middle of August, Kirby Smith moving with a separate command in co-operation. At Munfordville he captured over 4,000 Federal soldiers, and then moved his army to Bardstown, and with his staff joined Kirby Smith at Lexington, where on October 4th, Hon. Richard Hawes was installed as Confederate provisional governor of Kentucky. At Perryville he encountered Buell's army and was victorious at every point, striking such a severe blow that he was able subsequently to move without loss to his large trains of captured stores, back to Knoxville. Preparing at once for a movement into Middle Tennessee he reached Murfreesboro November 26, 1862, about the date when General J. E. Johnston was appointed to the general command of the new department of the West, including the forces of Smith, Bragg and Pemberton. On December 30th-31st he repulsed the advance of Rosecrans' army upon his position, gaining a notable victory,

but on January 2d he was himself repulsed in an attack on the Federal left. He retreated to Tullahoma, where Johnston was empowered to relieve him of command if that commander thought best, but the result of a visit by Johnston was the retention of Bragg in command. In the latter part of June, 1863, he withdrew to Chattanooga, and thence in September, on account of the Federal forces appearing to the south, fell back into Georgia, where near the Tennessee line the great battle of Chickamauga was fought by the Confederate army under his command September 19th and 20th. It resulted in the complete rout of Rosecrans, the command of George H. Thomas alone holding its ground during the battle. Subsequently he besieged the beaten Federals at Chattanooga and sent Longstreet against Knoxville. When the beleaguered Federals were on the point of starvation they were heavily reinforced by Grant, and the Confederates were forced to retire from Missionary Ridge. On February 24, 1864, he was assigned to duty at Richmond, under direction of the President, charged with the conduct of the military operations of the armies of the Confederate States. In November following he was given command of the department of North Carolina, and in January, 1865, he commanded the army at Wilmington, and the troops of his department in the final operations against Sherman including the battle of Bentonville. After the surrender at Appomattox he accompanied President Davis through South Carolina and into Georgia, and after peace was restored, having lost all his property, he became engaged as a civil engineer at New Orleans, and superintended harbor improvements at Mobile. He died at Galveston, Texas, September 27, 1876. He was an officer of remarkable industry and conscientiousness, and unspotted character. He never praised others nor allowed himself to be flattered. His devotion to duty led him to neglect those amenities of social life which are valuable even in war, and he

suffered in consequence, but no one ever questioned his patriotism, or his courage.

General Edmund Kirby Smith, whose illustrious career is a notable part of the history of the Confederate war in the West, was born at St. Augustine, Fla., May 16, 1824. His father, Colonel J. L. Smith, a native of Connecticut, then held the office of United States judge for the district of Florida. He was appointed to the United States military academy, was graduated there in 1845, with a lieutenancy in the infantry, and then engaged in the Mexican war, where he received three brevets for gallantry. During his subsequent career as an officer of the United States army he served as assistant professor of mathematics at West Point, 1849-52; was promoted captain of the Second cavalry in 1855; was wounded in a battle with the Comanche Indians in Texas in 1859; and in 1861 was thanked for his services in protection of the State by the Texas legislature and promoted captain by the United States government. With full allegiance to his native State of Florida, he resigned his Federal commission upon the secession of that State, and entered the Confederate service. He was commissioned colonel of cavalry, March 16, 1861; promoted brigadier-general June 17, 1861; major-general October 11, 1861; lieutenant-general October, 1862, and general February 19, 1864. He served as chief of staff to General Joseph E. Johnston, at Harper's Ferry, rendered important service in the organization of the army of the Shenandoah, and having been promoted brigadier-general, was put in command of the fourth brigade of that army. While leading his command into action at Manassas, July 21st, at the critical moment, he fell severely wounded. He subsequently commanded the reserve division of the army, and being promoted major-general, assumed command at Knoxville on March 8, 1862, of the district of East Tennessee, afterward the department of East Tennessee and

Kentucky, North Georgia and Western North Carolina. He sent reinforcements to Beauregard at Corinth, and opposed with an inadequate force the Federal advance at Cumberland Gap. After a conference with General Bragg at Chattanooga, July 31st, General Smith advanced into Kentucky with about 6,000 men, defeated a superior force of Federals under General Nelson at Richmond, and after being joined by General Heth with 4,000 men, he designated his command as "The Army of Kentucky," made vigorous efforts to gather supplies and recruits for the Confederate cause, and occupied Lexington, the capital of the State. When Bragg retired after the battle of Perryville, General Smith skillfully withdrew his army from Kentucky. Having been promoted lieutenant-general he was ordered to the command of the Trans-Mississippi department in February, 1863, where he held the general command, from March 7th until the close of the war, of the districts of Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas and Indian Territory. He established headquarters at Shreveport, organized government, shipped large quantities of cotton to Europe, imported machinery, and did much to develop mining and manufacture. He concentrated his forces in defense of the Red River, and when his department was invaded by Banks and Steele, his measures of defense resulted in the decisive victory at Mansfield. On May 26, 1865, at Baton Rouge, he surrendered his army, the last of the Confederate troops to lay down their arms. During his supreme command in the Trans-Mississippi department he was absolutely faithful to the interests of his country, and spurned the personal profit which might easily have been made enormous. Neither in after life did any stress of financial embarrassment ever tempt him to forget that personal honor, that, like his unfailing courtesy, was a supreme characteristic of his nature. After the war he held the presidency of the Atlantic and Pacific telegraph company, was chancellor of the university of Nashville, 1870-1875, and sub-

General Edmund Kirby Smith.
General Braxton Bragg.

General Joseph E. Johnston.
General John B. Hood.

sequently was professor of mathematics in the university of the South, at Sewanee, Tennessee, until his death, March 28, 1893.

Lieutenant-General John Bell Hood, general with temporary rank, 1864, was born in Owensville, Ky., June 1, 1831. He was graduated at the United States military academy with the class of 1853, which included his subsequent antagonists, McPherson and Schofield. During his West Point life his fiery courage and persistence were impressed upon his associates. Years afterward General O. O. Howard, finding the Confederates active in his front, on the west of Atlanta, said to Sherman, "General, Hood will attack me here," and when Sherman expressed his doubt, Howard responded that he had known Hood at West Point and that "he was indomitable." In the rank of second-lieutenant Hood served about two years in California, after his graduation, and was then transferred to a new cavalry regiment of which Albert Sidney Johnston was colonel and Robert E. Lee lieutenant-colonel. He engaged in frontier service in Texas in the winter of 1855, and in July following was wounded at Devil's river. In 1858 he was promoted first lieutenant, and in 1859-60 he performed the duties of cavalry instructor at West Point. Resigning his commission in April, 1861, he entered the service of the Confederate States, reporting to General Magruder on the peninsula of Virginia. With the temporary rank of major he was given command of the cavalry of this district by General Magruder, and on the organization of the cavalry companies into a regiment was promoted lieutenant-colonel. Next commissioned colonel of the Fourth Texas regiment in September, 1861, he thus began his association with the Texas troops in the Confederate war, his regiment becoming the nucleus of the Texas brigade which was soon formed and placed under his command in March, 1862, as brigadier-general. Under his daring

leadership, the Texans performed prodigies of valor and at the outset gained a reputation for hard fighting and reckless courage that grew with the progress of the war. His brigade was attached to the command of Gen. G. W. Smith at Williamsburg and Seven Pines. He checked General Franklin at Eltham's Landing near West Point, and at Gaines' Mill his brigade and that of General Law were at the front of Longstreet's attack, and the report of General Stonewall Jackson gives credit to the Fourth Texas, led by General Hood, as the first to pierce the Federal entrenchments on the left and capture the batteries. In this fight he was wounded and his gallantry won the brevet of major-general, a rank to which he was fully promoted in October following. Commanding a division composed of his old brigade and that of Law, with five batteries, in Longstreet's corps, he climbed over the mountains at Thoroughfare Gap and struck the enemy on the field of Second Manassas, with decisive results. During the Maryland campaign he took part with his division in the important and heroic delay of the Federal army at the passes of South Mountain, with his comrades holding Hooker's and Reno's corps at Fox's Gap. At Sharpsburg he held the left against Hooker on the 16th of September, and fought desperately about the Dunker church on the 17th. At Fredericksburg he commanded the right of Longstreet's line, and at Gettysburg, stationed on the extreme right of the Confederate army, he made a vigorous and successful attack on the second day against Little Round Top and the Devil's Den. Early in the engagement he received a wound which deprived him permanently of the use of one arm and caused his confinement for over two months. In September, 1863, his division was ordered with Longstreet's corps, in the reinforcement of Bragg in North Georgia, which he at once followed, notwithstanding his wound. He was distinguished in the action on the 19th and 20th of September, 1863, when he gained a brilliant success, crushing

the right center of the enemy, capturing artillery, and seizing the Chattanooga road, but while leading a charge with his usual impetuosity he was wounded in the right leg, necessitating its amputation. He was promoted lieutenant-general, of date September 20th, and during Johnston's campaign against Sherman he was in active command of one of the three army corps, though he was so maimed in body that it was with great difficulty that he was able to keep upon his horse. During the fighting from Dalton to Atlanta he played a prominent part, and on July 18, 1864, he was given command of the army, with the temporary rank of general. He endeavored to take Sherman's army at disadvantage in crossing Peach Tree Creek, July 20, 1864, but delay made the blow ineffective. Two days later he fought the battle of the 22nd with well-devised plans that chance and superior forces of the enemy deprived of further effect than checking the Federal advance in that direction. On the 28th he struck the persistent Sherman a heavy blow at Ezra Church, but after the enemy had succeeded in breaking his communications he evacuated Atlanta, having held Sherman at bay for seventy-five days. He then determined to attack Sherman's communications, invade Tennessee and carry the war northward. This resulted in several engagements in North Georgia, and the famous battles of Franklin and Nashville, Tenn. At the close of this campaign General Hood applied to be relieved from the command of his army, and continued to press his application until finally President Davis complied with his request. Bidding farewell on the 25th of January, 1865, to the army of Tennessee, with which he had served over eleven months, he reported to the President at Richmond, was ordered to Texas, and while on the way was informed of the surrender of General Lee. Proceeding on his journey he reached the vicinity of Natchez, Mississippi, where he was detained in "vain endeavors to cross the mighty river" until he learned of the surrender by Gen-

eral Kirby Smith. After that he rode into Natchez May 31, 1865, surrendered and was paroled. Hostilities on the field being ended he engaged in business in New Orleans until his death, August 30, 1879.

Lieutenant-General James Longstreet was born in Edgefield district, South Carolina, January 8, 1821, the son of James Longstreet, a native of New Jersey. His maternal grandfather, Marshall Dent, was a first cousin of Chief Justice John Marshall. His grandfather, William Longstreet, was the first to apply steam as a motive power, in 1787, to a small boat on the Savannah river at Augusta. General Longstreet was reared to the age of twelve years at Augusta, Ga., whence after the death of his father he accompanied his mother to North Alabama. From that State he was appointed to the United States military academy in 1838. He was graduated in 1842, and with the brevet of second-lieutenant went on duty at Jefferson Barracks, Mo., with the Fourth infantry. The command was joined next year by Lieutenant U. S. Grant, whom Longstreet introduced to his cousin, Miss Julia Dent, subsequently the wife of the Federal general. In 1844 Longstreet joined the army in Louisiana under General Taylor, and in 1845, promoted lieutenant of the Eighth regiment, was at St. Augustine, Fla., until he was ordered to Taylor's army in Texas. He participated in the battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, San Antonio, Churubusco, and Molino del Rey, winning the brevets of captain and major. At Chapultepec he was severely wounded. He was promoted captain in 1852, and in 1858 major and paymaster, and stationed at Albuquerque, N. M. Resigning this office he reported at Richmond June 29, 1861, and asked an appointment in the pay department, having resigned "aspirations for military glory." But he received a commission as brigadier-general July 1st, and was ordered to report to Beauregard at Manassas, where, in command

of the First, Eleventh and Seventeenth Virginia regiments, he repulsed the Federal attack at Blackburn's Ford, July 18th, and during the battle of July 21st threatened the Federal rear. On October 17th he was promoted to major-general, and with this rank he commanded a division of the army under Joseph E. Johnston, and at the battle of Williamsburg was in immediate command of the field, manifesting here those sturdy qualities which gave him to such a great degree the confidence of his men, and won their admiration. He commanded the right wing of the army before Richmond during the two days' battle of Seven Pines, and was in command of his own and A. P. Hill's division, under Robert E. Lee, in the successful battles of Gaines' Mill and Frayser's Farm, and was preparing to make a flank movement against the Federals at Malvern Hill when the series of battles ended by the safe retreat of McClellan to the James. After following the retreating enemy to Harrison's Landing, he there entered upon his command of the First corps of the army of Northern Virginia, Stonewall Jackson leading the Second.

Jackson marched at once to confront Pope in northern Virginia, and Longstreet soon followed. While Jackson flanked the enemy from their strong position on the Rappahannock he engaged them at various points on the river, and finally forcing the passage of Thoroughfare Gap, participated in the crushing defeat of Pope's army. In the Maryland campaign he moved his division from Frederick to Hagerstown, with part of his command holding the South Mountain passes, while Jackson captured Harper's Ferry, and at Sharpsburg he won additional renown for stubborn and heroic fighting. October 9, 1862, he was promoted to lieutenant-general. At Fredericksburg the fighting of the left wing, including the heroic defense of Marye's Hill, was under his supervision. In the spring of 1863 he operated with part of his corps at Suffolk, Va., but rejoined Lee at Fredericksburg after

the battle of Chancellorsville and the mortal wounding of Jackson. It was decided at this crisis to make a diversion by a campaign in Pennsylvania, and in accordance with the general plan Longstreet moved his command to Chambersburg, Pa., and thence to Gettysburg, reaching the field in person on the afternoon of the first day of the battle. General Lee having been successful thus far, decided to continue the fight on the Federal front. Longstreet's troops, having arrived, participated in the second day's battle, and on the third day, under orders from Lee, Pickett's division, reinforced by Pettigrew and Trimble, made the memorable charge against the Federal position on Cemetery Hill. After the Confederate army had retired to Virginia, Longstreet, with Hood and McLaws' divisions, was sent to reinforce Bragg in north Georgia, and as commander of the left wing at Chickamauga he crushed the Federal right, becoming, as D. H. Hill wrote, "The organizer of victory on the Confederate side, as Thomas was the savior of the army on the other side." After Rosecrans was shut up in Chattanooga Longstreet was detached for the capture of Knoxville. Marching to that point in November, on heavy roads, he had begun assaults upon the works when apprised of the defeat of Bragg at Chattanooga. Rejoining the army of Northern Virginia before the fighting began in the Wilderness, on May 6 he reached the field opportunely and led his men in a successful assault which promised the defeat of Grant's army, when in the confusion a Confederate volley seriously wounded him and killed his favorite brigade commander, the gallant General Jenkins.

During the greater part of the siege at Richmond and Petersburg he commanded on the north side of the James, and on the movement to Appomattox he commanded the advance and the main portion of the army. After hostilities closed he was told by President Johnson that he was one of three, the others being Mr. Davis and General Lee, who could never receive amnesty. It was subse-

quently bestowed, however, and he engaged in business at New Orleans. During Grant's presidency he was appointed surveyor of the port of that city, and afterward supervisor of internal revenue and postmaster. In 1880 he was appointed United States minister to Turkey, and under President Garfield he was United States marshal for the district of Georgia, in which State he has made his residence of recent years, at the town of Gainesville. In October, 1897, he was appointed United States railroad commissioner to succeed General Wade Hampton resigned.

Lieutenant-General Leonidas Polk was born at Raleigh, N. C., April 10, 1806, the son of Colonel William Polk, the latest survivor of the field officers of the North Carolina line, and grandson of Thomas Polk, a leader in the Mecklenburg convention. He received a literary education at the university of North Carolina, and then determining to embrace a military career, was appointed to the United States military academy, where he was graduated with a lieutenancy in the artillery in 1827. Through the influence of a new chaplain at West Point, afterward known as Bishop McIlvaine, of Ohio, he became impressed with a sense of religious duty which led him to resign his commission in the same year, and enter the Theological seminary at Alexandria. In December, 1827, he became a deacon in the Protestant Episcopal church and in 1831 he was ordained priest. On account of his delicate health his labors in this field were relieved by foreign travel and partial occupation as a farmer, until 1838, when he received the degree of S. T. D. and was appointed missionary bishop in Arkansas and Indian territory, with provisional charge of the dioceses of Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, and missions in Texas. The incessant travel required soon restored his physical condition to health, and he subsequently resigned the charge of this boundless field except the diocese of

Louisiana, which he retained throughout life. He was an earnest participant in the secession movement, and when war became imminent, removed his family from New Orleans to Sewanee, Tenn., where he had projected the University of the South in 1856. He then offered his military services to the Confederacy, and was commissioned major-general June 25, 1862, with command of Department No. 2, comprising a vast territory and the defenses of the Mississippi river from the Red river to Paducah, Ky. He established his headquarters at Memphis and directed the fortification of the river. He was practically the creator of the army of the Mississippi. In September, when Albert Sidney Johnston took command of Department No. 2, he removed his headquarters to Columbus, Ky., which he fortified and held with about 10,000 men. At Belmont, in November, he and General Grant shared the honors of what was the first battle of each as commanding officer. Early in 1862 he was required to evacuate Columbus, and join the army at Corinth, where he was put in command of the First corps of the army of the Mississippi. In the council which preceded the battle of Shiloh he sustained Johnston in his determination to attack, and in the action he crushed the right center of the Federal line, and in person received the surrender of many troops. He was in command of his corps at Corinth, and after the succession of Bragg to the control of the department, he became second in command. During the invasion of Kentucky he commanded the right wing of Bragg's army, was in charge of the Confederate forces at the successful battle of Perryville, and was intrusted with the conduct of the retreat. October 10, 1862, he was promoted to lieutenant-general. He was distinguished in command of the center at Murfreesboro. At the battle of Chickamauga he was in charge of the right wing of Bragg's army. On December 23rd he succeeded Hardee in command of the army of Tennessee, but was soon relieved by J. E. Johnston

Lieut.-Gen. THEOPHILUS H. HOLMES.
Lieut.-Gen. JAMES LONGSTREET.
Lieut.-Gen. WM. J. HARDEE.
Lieut.-Gen. LEONIDAS POLK.
Lieut.-Gen. THOS. J. JACKSON.

and was given charge of the department of Alabama, Mississippi and east Louisiana, where he frustrated Sherman's Mississippi expedition. With his troops, the army of Mississippi, he united with the army of Tennessee at Resaca in the spring of 1864, and on May 12 assumed command in the field, and co-operated with Johnston in the campaign against Sherman, until he was killed on Pine Mountain, near Marietta, Ga., June 14, 1864. "General Polk," writes his son, "walked to the crest of the hill, and, entirely exposed, turned himself around, as if to take a farewell view. Folding his arms across his breast, he stood intently gazing on the scene below. While he thus stood a cannon shot crashed through his breast, and opening a wide door, let free that indomitable spirit."

Lieutenant-General Thomas Jonathan Jackson was one of those rare historical characters who are claimed by all people—a man of his race, almost as much as of the Confederacy. No war has produced a military celebrity more remarkable, nor one whose fame will be more enduring. He was born January 21, 1824, in Clarksburg, Va., and his parents, who were of patriotic Revolutionary stock, dying while he was but a child, he was reared and educated by his kindred in the pure and simple habits of rural life, taught in good English schools, and is described as a "diligent, plodding scholar, having a strong mind, though it was slow in development." But he was in boyhood a leader among his fellow-students in the athletic sports of the times, in which he generally managed his side of the contest so as to win the victory. By this country training he became a bold and expert rider and cultivated that spirit of daring which being held sometimes in abeyance displayed itself in his Mexican service, and then suddenly again in the Confederate war. In June, 1842, at the age of eighteen, he was appointed to a cadetship in the military academy at West Point, where,

commencing with the disadvantages of inadequate preparation, he overcame obstacles by such determination as to rise from year to year in the estimation of the faculty. He graduated June 30, 1846, at the age of twenty-two years, receiving brevet rank as second-lieutenant at the beginning of the Mexican war, and was ordered to report for duty with the First Regular artillery, with which he shared in the many brilliant battles which General Scott fought from Vera Cruz to the City of Mexico. He was often commended for his soldierly conduct and soon received successive promotions for gallantry at Contreras and Churubusco. Captain Magruder, afterwards a Confederate general, thus mentioned him in orders: "If devotion, industry, talent, and gallantry are the highest qualities of a soldier, then is he entitled to the distinction which their possession confers." Jackson was one of the volunteers in the storming of Chapultepec, and for his daring there was brevetted major, which was his rank at the close of the Mexican war.

His religious character, which history has and will inseparably connect with his military life, appears to have begun forming in the City of Mexico, where his attention was directed to the subject of the variety of beliefs on religious questions. His amiable and affectionate biographer (Mrs. Jackson) mentions that Colonel Francis Taylor, the commander of the First artillery, under whom Jackson was serving, was the first man to speak to him on the subject of personal religion. Jackson had not at any time of his life yielded to the vices, and was in all habits strictly moral, but had given no particular attention to the duties enjoined by the church. Convinced now that this neglect was wrong, he began to study the Bible and pursued his inquiries until he finally united (1851) with the Presbyterian church. His remarkable devoutness of habit and unwavering confidence in the truth of his faith contributed, it is conceded, very greatly to the full development of his singular character, as well as to his marvelous success.

In 1848 Jackson's command was stationed at Fort Hamilton for two years, then at Fort Meade, in Florida, and from that station he was elected to a chair in the Virginia military institute at Lexington in 1851, which he accepted, and resigning his commission, made Lexington his home ten years, and until he began his remarkable career in the Confederate war. Two years later, 1853, he married Miss Eleanor, daughter of Rev. Dr. Junkin, president of Washington college, but she lived scarcely more than a year. Three years after, July 16, 1857, his second marriage occurred, with Miss Mary Anna, daughter of Rev. Dr. H. R. Morrison, of North Carolina, a distinguished educator, whose other daughters married men who attained eminence in civil and military life, among them being General D. H. Hill, General Rufus Barringer, and Chief Justice A. C. Avery.

The only special incident occurring amidst the educational and domestic life of Major Jackson, which flowed on serenely from this hour, was the summons of the cadets of the Institute by Governor Letcher, to proceed to Harper's Ferry on the occasion of the raid of John Brown in 1859.

During the presidential campaign of 1860 Major Jackson visited New England and there heard enough to arouse his fears for the safety of the Union. At the election of that year he cast his vote for Breckinridge on the principle that he was a State rights man, and after Lincoln's election he favored the policy of contending in the Union rather than out of it, for the recovery of the ground that had thus been lost. The course of coercion, however, alarmed him, and the failure of the Peace congress persuaded him that if the United States persisted in their course war would certainly result. His State saw as he did, and on the passage of its ordinance of secession, the military cadets under the command of Major Jackson were ordered to the field by the governor of Virginia. The order was promptly obeyed April 21, 1865, from which date his Confederate military life began.

Jackson's valuable service was given to Virginia in the occupation of Harper's Ferry and several subsequent small affairs, but his fame became general from the battle of First Manassas. It was at one of the crises of that first trial battle between the Federal and Confederate troops that he was given the war name of "Stonewall," by which he will be always designated. The true story will be often repeated that on being notified of the Federal advance to break the Confederate line he called out, "We will give them the bayonet," and a few minutes later the steadiness with which the brigade received the shock of battle caused the Confederate General Bee to exclaim: "There stands Jackson like a stone wall."

He was commissioned brigadier-general June 17, 1861, and was promoted to major-general October 7, 1861, with the wise assignment to command of the Valley district, which he assumed in November of that year. With a small force he began even in winter a series of bold operations in the great Virginia valley, and opened the spring campaign of 1862, on plans concerted between General Joseph E. Johnston and himself, by attacking the enemy at Kernstown, March 23rd, where he sustained his only repulse; but even in the movement which resulted in a temporary defeat he caused the recall of a considerable Federal force designed to strengthen McClellan in the advance against Richmond. The next important battle was fought at McDowell, in which Jackson won a decided victory over Fremont. Then moving with celerity and sagacity he drove Banks at Front Royal, struck him again at Newtown, and at length utterly routed him. After this, turning about on Shields, he overthrew his command also, and thus, in one month's campaign, broke up the Federal forces which had been sent to "crush him." In these rapidly executed operations he had successfully fought five battles against three distinct armies, requiring four hundred miles, marching to compass the fields.

This Valley campaign of 1862 was never excelled, ac-

cording to the opinions expressed by military men of high rank and long experience in war. It is told by Dr. McGuire, the chief surgeon of Jackson's command, that with swelling heart he had "heard some of the first soldiers and military students of England declare that within the past two hundred years the English speaking race has produced but five soldiers of the first rank—Marlborough, Washington, Wellington, Lee and Stonewall Jackson, and that this campaign in the valley was superior to either of those made by Napoleon in Italy." One British officer, who teaches strategy in a great European college, told Surgeon McGuire that he used this campaign as a model of strategy and tactics, dwelling upon it for several months in his lectures; that it was taught in the schools of Germany, and that Von Moltke, the great strategist, declared it was without a rival in the world's history.

After this brilliant service for the Confederacy Jackson joined Lee at Richmond in time to strike McClellan's flank at the battle of Cold Harbor, and to contribute to the Federal defeat in the Seven Days' battles around Richmond. In the campaign against Pope, undertaken by Lee after he had defeated McClellan, Jackson was sent on a movement suited to his genius, capturing Manassas Junction, and foiling Pope until the main battle of Second Manassas, August 30, 1862, under Lee, despoiled that Federal general of all his former honors. The Maryland campaign immediately followed, in which Jackson led in the capture of Harper's Ferry September 15th, taking 11,500 prisoners, and an immense amount of arms and stores, just preceding the battle of Sharpsburg, in which he also fought with notable efficiency at a critical juncture. The promotion to lieutenant-general was now accorded him, October 10, 1862. At the battle of Fredericksburg, December 13, 1862, Lieutenant-General Jackson held the Confederate right against all Federal assaults. The Federal disaster in this battle resulted in

the resignation of Burnside and the reorganization of the army under General Hooker in 1863.

After the most complete preparations Hooker advanced against Lee at Chancellorsville, who countervailed all the Federal general's plans by sending Jackson to find and crush his right flank, which movement was in the process of brilliant accomplishment when Jackson, who had passed his own lines to make a personal inspection of the situation, was fired upon and fatally wounded by a line of Confederates who unhappily mistook him and his escort for the enemy. The glory of the achievement which Lee and Jackson planned, fell upon General Stuart next day, who, succeeding Jackson in command, ordered that charge which became so ruinous to Hooker, with the thrilling watchword, "Remember Jackson."

General Jackson lived a few days and died lamented more than any soldier who had fallen. Lee said: "I have lost my right arm." The army felt that his place could not be easily supplied. The South was weighted with grief. After the war, when the North dispassionately studied the man they ceased to wonder at the admiration in which he was held by the world. He was buried at Lexington, Va., where a monument erected by affection marks his grave. "For centuries men will come to Lexington as a Mecca, and to this grave as a shrine, and wonderingly talk of this man and his mighty deeds. Time will only add to his great fame—his name will be honored and revered forever."

Lieutenant-General William J. Hardee was born in Camden county, Georgia, in November, 1815. After receiving a military education at West Point, he entered the army with the class of 1838, as a second-lieutenant of the Second cavalry, and was promoted first-lieutenant in 1839, and served in the Florida war of 1840. He was then sent to Europe by the government as a member of a military commission to study the organization of foreign armies.

and in that capacity visited the military school at St. Maur, France. In 1844 he was promoted captain, and in 1846 crossed the Rio Grande with General Taylor. He behaved with gallantry in the Mexican war, was taken prisoner at Curricito, but exchanged, and for his valor at La Hoya was brevetted major. In 1853 his professional accomplishments caused his selection by the secretary of war, for the compilation of a system of infantry tactics, which was adopted in March, 1855. In the following year "Hardee's Tactics" was introduced at West Point, where he was appointed commandant with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. In 1861 he resigned this commission and entered the Confederate service as colonel of cavalry March 16th, being assigned to command at Fort Morgan, Ala. On June 17th, he was promoted to brigadier-general, in which rank he organized a brigade of Arkansas regiments, and operated in that State until called with his men across the Mississippi, when he was commissioned major-general and put in command of a division of the army in Kentucky and Tennessee under Albert Sidney Johnston. He led the advance from Corinth in command of the Third army corps, and commanded the first line of attack at Shiloh, where he was wounded, but managed his command with such energy that he was promoted major-general. In the following summer he was put in immediate command of the army of the Mississippi, afterward called the army of Tennessee, and during the Kentucky campaign he commanded the left wing of Bragg's army. In the battle of Perryville he bore a conspicuous part, and he was immediately afterward promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general. At the battle of Murfreesboro the left wing under his masterly leadership was successful in the fight, and he was especially commended by General Bragg "for skill, valor and ability." General Hardee had now well earned the exalted rank which he held and a military reputation which was tersely expressed by his soldiers in the cognomen "Old Reliable." In 1863 he

was detailed to defend Mississippi and Alabama, but returned to the command of his corps at Chattanooga, and commanded the right wing at Missionary Ridge, where General Thomas declared he was "the most efficient general the Confederacy had on the field." The subsequent maneuver of his troops at Cassville and his masterly retreat in echelon of divisions won the renewed admiration of his opponents. On December 2, 1863, he succeeded General Bragg in command of the army, but soon turned this over to General Polk, who in turn gave place to Gen. J. E. Johnston. Under the latter and his successor, J. B. Hood, he commanded a corps of the army of Tennessee through the Atlanta campaign, taking a prominent part in the fighting at Resaca, Kenesaw Mountain, and other points, and particularly at Peach Tree Creek and the battle of July 22d, where he commanded the flank movement against the Federal left wing. His corps was again engaged at Jonesboro and the last fighting of the campaign. In October, 1864, he was assigned to command the department of South Carolina, Georgia and Florida, with the task of collecting at Savannah forces to operate against Sherman's advance. The troops he required were no longer to be found in the South, and by one of the most masterly retreats of the war he evaded Sherman's overwhelming force before Savannah, and withdrew to Charleston and thence to Columbia. At Averysboro, in March, 1865, he punished the enemy effectively, and a few days later he led in the battle of Bentonville the last charge that was made by our war-worn soldiers, and his only son, sixteen years of age, was among the last to fall. In this last battle of the four years, with undiminished spirit, the general, as Johnston has described it, "with his knightly gallantry dashed over the enemy's breastworks on horseback in front of his men." It is told of General Hardee, illustrating his thoroughness as a soldier, that he was the only lieutenant-general who personally inspected the arms and accoutrements of each soldier of

his corps. General J. E. Johnston said of him that "he was more capable of commanding twenty thousand men in battle than any other Confederate general." General Hardee died at Wytheville, Va., November 6, 1873, and his remains were interred at Selma, Ala., where he had resided after the war.

Lieutenant-General Theophilus H. Holmes was born November 11, 1804, in Sampson county, North Carolina, the son of Gabriel Holmes, congressman and governor. He was graduated from the West Point military academy in 1829; served in frontier duty in Indian Territory and elsewhere; was promoted lieutenant and captain of the Seventh infantry; served in the Florida Indian wars, 1839 to 1842; was stationed at New Orleans and vicinity; joined the Texas army of occupation; won the brevet of major at Monterey and was distinguished at Vera Cruz. Subsequently he was on duty in garrison and on the frontier; took part in the expeditions against the Seminoles and the Navajoes; was promoted major March 3, 1855, and when the Confederacy was formed held the position at Governor's Island of superintendent of the general recruiting service of the United States army. He resigned early in 1861 to take part in the Southern struggle for independence. President Davis, who had known "him from his schoolboy days, had served with him in garrison and in field, and with pride watched him as he gallantly led a storming party up the rocky height at Monterey," promoted him from colonel, C. S. A., his first Confederate rank, to that of brigadier-general, June 5, 1861. He commanded a brigade at Aquia Creek, which he led to Manassas for participation in the defeat of McDowell. Subsequently he was put in command of the Aquia district, with the rank of major-general, the other two districts of the department being under Stonewall Jackson and Beauregard. He commanded a division during the Seven Days' battles before Richmond, and at the conclusion of that campaign

took command of the department of North Carolina, whence he was soon transferred to the command of the Trans-Mississippi department and promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general. He accepted the service but declined the promotion until it was again offered in the fall of 1862, when he accepted the rank. He reached Vicksburg July 30, 1862, and soon established his headquarters at Little Rock. In this department he made a manly struggle against adverse conditions until the following March, when he was relieved by Edmund Kirby Smith, under whose general command General Holmes retained charge of the district of Arkansas. On the day that Vicksburg surrendered, he made an assault upon the Federal force at Helena under General Prentiss, where the Confederate troops were distinguished for fearless action, but failed to carry the enemy's works. Subsequently on account of illness he turned over the military command to General Price, but resumed it after Price had retreated from Little Rock. The greater part of the State was now occupied by an overwhelming Federal force, against which no further hostilities were attempted during the service of General Holmes in that field. In March, 1864, he was relieved of command in Arkansas, and placed in charge of the reserve forces of North Carolina. As commander of the defenses of North Carolina, he was of great value in the organization of the troops of that State, until, in June, he was called to the department of Fredericksburg. He was a brave and fearless officer and esteemed for his virtues. After the close of the war he retired to Fayetteville, and passed the remainder of his life upon a small farm, which he tilled with his own hands, accepting the reverses of fortune with unmurmuring patience. He died June 21, 1880. His eldest son fell at Malvern Hill.

Lieutenant-General John Clifford Pemberton was born at Philadelphia, Pa., August 10, 1814, and was graduated at West Point in 1837, with promotion to a lieutenancy

in the Fourth artillery. As an artillery officer in the old United States army he attained notable distinction. Among his services previous to the Mexican war were those in the Seminole wars; on the Northern frontier during the Canada border disturbances; in garrison at Fortress Monroe, and in the Texas army of occupation. He entered the Mexican war as first-lieutenant, and served gallantly in the battles of Palo Alto, Resaca de la Palma, Monterey, Vera Cruz, Cerro Gordo, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, Chapultepec, and the city of Mexico, as aide-de-camp to General Worth. For his brilliant services he received the brevets of captain and major and was presented a sword by the legislature of Pennsylvania. After the Mexican war his principal service was in operations against the Seminoles; on frontier duty in Kansas, and in the Utah expedition. Called to Washington at the outbreak of the war of the Confederacy he refused to fight against the South, resigned his commission and was appointed lieutenant-colonel of Virginia troops, and entrusted with the organization of artillery and cavalry. June 15, 1861, he was made a major of artillery in the Confederate army, and two days later received promotion to brigadier-general. In the latter rank he commanded Confederate forces north of the Nansemond river, on the east bank of the James, until November, 1861, when he was assigned to command of the Eighth military district of South Carolina, where he was promoted to major-general January, 1862. Early in 1862 he had command of the department of South Carolina, Georgia and East Florida during the absence of General Lee, and became the successor of General Lee in that field from March until October, 1862, when he was promoted to lieutenant-general and transferred to the command of the department of Mississippi and East Louisiana. Here he succeeded General VanDorn as commander of the army and established his headquarters at Jackson. He was soon called upon to meet a series of expeditions against Vicks-

burg; Grant's advance by Holly Springs, which was defeated by the raids of VanDorn and Forrest; Sherman's movement by way of Chickasaw Bayou, which was defeated by Gen. S. D. Lee; and the several flanking movements which were foiled by the Confederates after Grant himself had appeared with an immense army before Vicksburg. Finally the batteries of Vicksburg were run by the Federal fleet, and Grant made a landing in Mississippi and advanced upon Vicksburg from the south. Pemberton at once made dispositions to fight in the defensive at Edward's Ferry, guarding his communications, but being overruled, acted on the offensive and was defeated at Champion's Hill, and routed at the Big Black Bridge. He then occupied Vicksburg with all the forces at his command, repulsed the assaults of May 18th and 22nd, and stubbornly defended his lines, under a continuous bombardment, until ammunition failed and the men from lack of food and exhaustive service were no longer able to repulse an assault. At a council of war July 2nd, it was decided to surrender, and the capitulation was completed July 4, 1863. After his exchange he resigned his commission as lieutenant-general, May 18, 1864, and was ordered to report to Gen. Robert Ransom for assignment to command of artillery defenses of Richmond, where he served with the rank of lieutenant-colonel, until the close of the war. He then retired to a farm in Virginia, removed thence to Pennsylvania in 1876, and died at Penllyn, July 13, 1881.

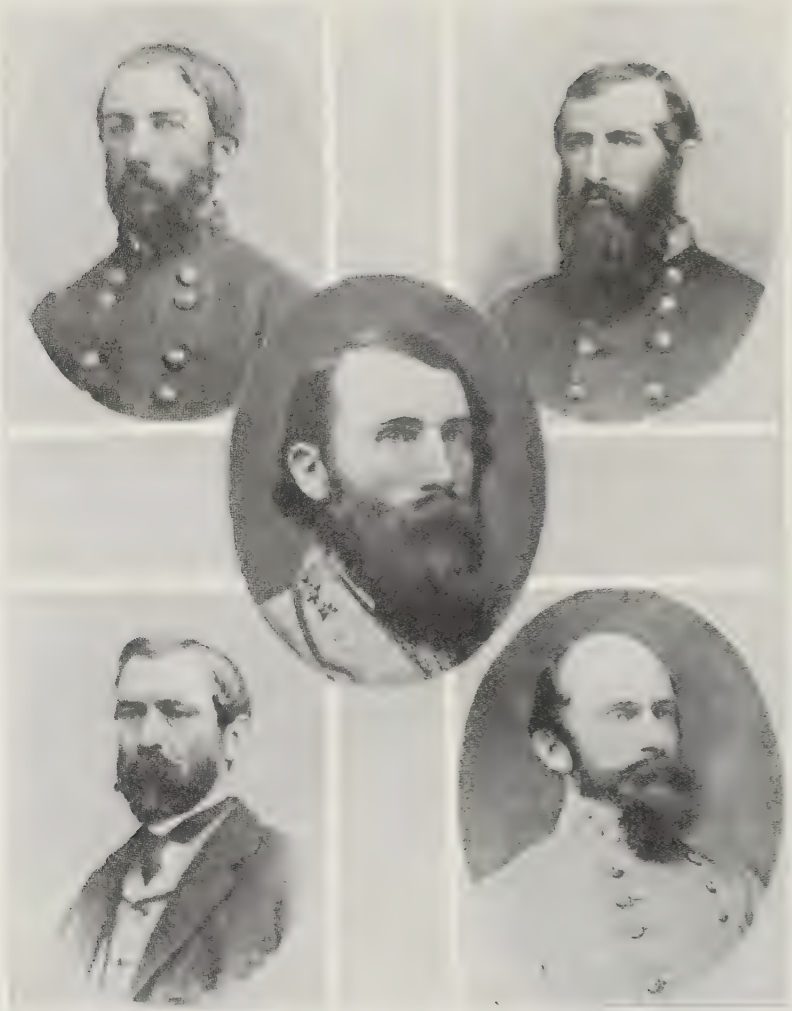
Lieutenant-General Richard Stoddart Ewell was born at Georgetown, D. C., February 8, 1817. He was graduated at West Point in 1840, and with promotion to a lieutenancy of dragoons served on the frontier until 1846. He went into the Mexican war as first-lieutenant of Mason's Dragoons, participated in the fighting from Vera Cruz to Chapultepec and received the brevet of captain for gallantry at Contreras and Churubusco. In 1849

he was promoted to captain, and continued in the United States service, on duty in New Mexico, until the spring of 1861, when he resigned his commission in order to tender his sword to Virginia. With the rank of lieutenant-colonel, corps of cavalry, he commanded the camp of instruction at Ashland, and was promoted brigadier-general June 17th. In command of the second brigade of the army of the Potomac under Beauregard he held the extreme right of the Confederate line during the first battle of Manassas, and after advancing in the prearranged movement against Centerville, was recalled to reinforce the Confederate left, but was not permitted to pursue the defeated enemy. He was promoted major-general in October, 1861, and given command of a division consisting of the brigades of Elzey, Trimble and Taylor, which in the following spring became famous under his active and fearless leadership during Jackson's campaign in the valley of the Shenandoah. After Jackson had fallen back from Kernstown, Ewell was sent to his aid from before Richmond. With his division he defeated Banks at Winchester, May 25th, commanded on the field during the defeat of Fremont at Cross Keys, and during the final victory at Port Republic held Fremont in check and aided in the defeat of Tyler. As senior major-general in Jackson's command, he participated in the subsequent battles before Richmond, and was distinguished in the Manassas campaign of 1862, at the battle of Cedar Mountain, the capture of the Federal stores at Manassas Junction, and the engagement at Groveton, on the evening of August 28th, when he fell with a wound in the knee, which compelled the amputation of the leg. Thus seriously disabled, he returned to the army in May, 1863, and with promotion to the rank of lieutenant-general was assigned to the command of the Second corps of the army of Northern Virginia, succeeding Stonewall Jackson, who had fallen at Chancellorsville. He was in-

trusted with the important duty of clearing the Shenandoah valley of the Federals, which he executed in a brilliant manner, defeating the enemy at Brandy Station and Winchester, and occupying Harper's Ferry, capturing 4,000 prisoners and a large amount of arms and stores, with an aggregate loss of 269 men. He then advanced into Pennsylvania, and threw his advance toward Harrisburg as far as the Susquehanna river, where he received orders to return to Cashtown. On the morning of July 1st, hearing of the advance toward Gettysburg, he turned his columns in that direction, and striking the Federal forces north of the village early in the evening gallantly drove them through the town, uncovering the flank of the enemy opposed to Hill, after which the Federals fell back to the position they subsequently defended. On the second day he made a gallant attack on Culp's Hill, and renewed the fighting on the third day. On May 5, 1864, he was the first to engage with Grant's forces in the Wilderness, and after fighting stubbornly through that day, on the 6th he made a successful attack upon the Federal right wing. He bore the brunt of the terrible battle of the 12th at the "bloody angle," on the 18th severely repulsed the last Federal attack upon his position, and on the following day struck the left wing of the enemy, delaying Grant's turning movement for twenty-four hours. During the fight at Spottsylvania, General Ewell's horse was shot under him, and he was so injured by the resulting fall that he could not continue in active service on the field. He commanded the defenses of Richmond at the last, and after the evacuation, in command of his corps took part in the action at Sailor's Creek, where he was made a prisoner. For some unknown reason he was confined at Fort Warren for four months. Subsequently he made his home in Tennessee, and there passed away January 25, 1872.

Lieutenant-General Ambrose Powell Hill, the brilliant Confederate corps commander, was born in Culpeper county, Virginia, November 9, 1825, and was trained for military life at West Point academy where, graduating with distinction in 1847, he began service in the First artillery, in which he was promoted second lieutenant the same year. His studies of the great masters of war gave him early reputation for accurate and extensive acquaintance with the art to which he had devoted his life. His services were required in Mexico during 1847 and afterward in the hostilities with the Seminoles. Detached from field duty by the government he was employed in the position of superintendent of the coast survey, having in the meantime received promotion to the rank of first-lieutenant. In October, 1860, he obtained leave of absence, and in March, 1861, his devotion to the cause of the South as against armed invasion induced him to resign his commission in the United States army. Virginia was beginning at that time to organize its forces for defense against the threatened coercion, and conferred upon the accomplished soldier the rank of colonel, with assignment to the command of the Thirteenth regiment Virginia volunteers, which he industriously drilled and disciplined for the great service it afterwards performed. The regiment thus made effective became distinguished in the army of Northern Virginia. Commissioned brigadier-general February 26, 1862, he acquired especial distinction at the battle of Williamsburg, and was promoted to the rank of major-general May 26, 1862. In the campaigns of this year he was constantly relied on by Lee for services requiring expedition, skill and courage. In the preliminaries to the battle of Mechanicsville, Lee assigned Hill to the duty of crossing the Chickahominy, and without waiting for Jackson ordered him to make an immediate attack. Hill's guns opened with effect June 26, 1862, and drove the enemy from their position. His command bore a great

part of the "brunt of battle" at Cold Harbor, Frayser's Farm, and in the following movements by which McClellan was driven from Richmond. The command of Hill was usually termed "the Light Division," a suggestive designation of which its commander seemed to be proud, and which it illustrated by the celerity and courage of its movements in the battles against Banks at Cedar Run, and Pope at the second Manassas. He participated in the capture of Harper's Ferry with its garrison of 11,000 troops and large supplies of artillery, small arms and general military stores, and was appointed to parole the prisoners and secure the fruits of the capture. This accomplished he hurried to the field of Sharpsburg, reaching the scene of that bloody battle in time to be of special service in a critical juncture. Attacking promptly at double-quick, with a part of his command, immediately on reaching the field, he joined other Confederate forces in a countercharge on Burnside's forces, which sent them back in confusion. After remaining with Jackson in the valley he was ordered to join Lee at Fredericksburg, and was stationed on the right of Jackson's corps in the battle of the 13th of December. At Chancellorsville, in 1863, he commanded his division under Jackson at the moment of that great soldier's wounding. His orders from his daring chief were to "press right in," and while obeying the command he received the news of Jackson's fall. The command devolving on him, and perhaps freshly inspired by the heroic orders of his commander, he "pressed right in" with an impetuosity which was stayed only by the severe wound which disabled him from further service that day. The army was reorganized after the battle of Chancellorsville and General Hill, made lieutenant-general May 24, 1863, was assigned to the command of the Third army corps, which he commanded at Gettysburg and in the subsequent operations in Virginia. On the 2d of April, 1865, his thin line at Petersburg was overwhelmed, and while personally com-



Lieut.-Gen. DANIEL H. HILL.

Lieut.-Gen. RICHARD TAYLOR.

Lieut.-Gen. JOHN C. PEMBERTON.

Lieut.-Gen. AMBROSE P. HILL.

Lieut.-Gen. RICHARD S. EWELL.

manding a part of his rallied force he ventured on danger with daring that was natural to him, and was killed by a Federal command whose surrender he had demanded. The General's gallant escort and staff at once charged the enemy and recovered his body. He was buried while Petersburg and the capital of the Confederacy were aflame and occupied by the Federal armies, and his corps was on retreat to Appomattox. Without the usual military honors he was committed to the grave. His personal purity, his devotion to the South, his military renown, have become the heritage of his people.

Lieutenant-General Daniel Harvey Hill was born at Hill's Iron Works, South Carolina, July 12, 1821, of Scotch-Irish lineage. His grandfather, a native of Ireland, built an iron foundry in York district where cannon were cast for the Continental army until it was destroyed by the British. This ancestor also fought gallantly as a colonel in Sumter's command. General Hill was graduated at West Point in 1842, in the class with Longstreet, A. P. Stewart, G. W. Smith, R. H. Anderson and Van Dorn, and his first service was on the Maine frontier. During the Mexican war he participated in nearly every important engagement either under Scott or Taylor, and attracted notice by his conspicuous courage. He soon rose to the rank of first-lieutenant, won the brevet of captain at Contreras and Churubusco, and that of major at Chapultepec, where he was one of the first of the storming party over the ramparts. When his State legislature voted swords to the three bravest survivors of the war, one was awarded to Hill. He served at Fortress Monroe in 1848, and on February 28, 1849, resigned from the army to accept the professorship of mathematics at Washington college, Virginia. In 1852 he was married to the eldest daughter of Rev. Dr. R. H. Morrison, and in 1854 he became a professor in Davidson college, North Carolina. In 1859, impressed with the duty of preparing the

South for defense, he accepted the position of commandant and manager of the military institute at Charlotte, N. C. During this period he was the author of several educational and theological works. He led his cadets to Raleigh, and made drill-masters of them, and after instructing the North Carolina volunteers was permitted to select twelve of the best companies as the First regiment, of which he was commissioned colonel. With his regiment he was assigned to command in the defenses of Yorktown. He won the first battle of the war at Bethel, where, as he wrote his wife, "I was baptized and worshiped till I was sixteen years old, the church of my mother." In September, 1861, he was promoted brigadier-general, and assigned to the command of the North Carolina coast. Reporting to Johnston in December, 1861, he was in command on the left at Leesburg, and being promoted major-general was in command of the first division of Johnston's army to enter Yorktown, and the last to leave. At Williamsburg his men were distinguished and at Seven Pines Longstreet reported: "The conduct of the attack was left entirely to Major-General Hill. The success of the affair is sufficient evidence of his ability, courage and skill." He took part in the battle of Mechanicsville, and at Gaines' Mill struck a decisive blow on the enemy's right. "Pressing forward," as Lee reported, "with unfaltering resolution, he reached the crest of the ridge, broke the enemy's line and drove him in confusion towards the Chickahominy." At Malvern Hill his gallant attack was rendered partly fruitless by a lack of support. During the Manassas campaign he held in check the Federals at Fredericksburg, and during the concentration of Lee's army at Sharpsburg he commanded the four thousand men who held the pass at Crampton's Gap, in the face of McClellan's army. He fought with his accustomed skill and effect at Sharpsburg, where three horses were killed under him. In February, 1863, he resumed command in North Carolina and was making active dem-

onstrations when called to Petersburg. With his command extending to the James, he guarded the capital and repelled the advance of General Dix. On July 10th he was appointed lieutenant-general and put in command of the divisions of Cleburne and Breckinridge. At Chickamauga he was permitted just before night to take charge of the forward movement of three lines, which swept over the breastworks of Thomas and caught 5,000 prisoners. With Longstreet and Forrest, he endeavored to reap the fruits of the fighting on that bloody field, but they were doomed to disappointment. Unmeritedly accused of too much prominence in the petition for the removal of the commanding general, he was relieved of command, but he volunteered on the staffs of Beauregard and Hoke and finally on the urgent request of Johnston and Beauregard he was assigned to duty at Charleston, and to the command of a remnant of the army of Tennessee in its retreat before Sheridan, until Bentonville, where he led his division in its last charge. For some years after the war he edited a magazine at Charlotte which was devoted to Southern development and called "The Land We Love." In 1877-80 he was president of the Arkansas Industrial university, and subsequently president of the military and agricultural college of Georgia. He died at Charlotte, N. C., September 24, 1889.

Lieutenant-General Richard Taylor, the only son of General Zachary Taylor, twelfth president of the United States, was born near Louisville, Ky., January 27, 1826. He was liberally educated at Edinburgh, in France, and at Yale college, and after his graduation in 1845 he served for a time as the secretary of his father, then in command of the army on the Rio Grande. During the succeeding period of peace he lived upon his extensive estate in St. Charles Parish, La., devoting himself to the management of the plantation and to political and scientific studies; in the enjoyment of a loving family,

wealth and friends, and typifying the flower of the social development of that period. He served in the senate of the State from 1856 to 1861, and was a delegate to the Charleston and Baltimore national conventions of 1860. As chairman of the committee on Federal Relations of the Louisiana senate of 1861, he secured the passage of an act calling a State convention, and in that latter body held the chairmanship of the Military and Defense committee. After the passage of the ordinance of secession he visited General Bragg at Pensacola, until called back to assume command of the Ninth Louisiana regiment of infantry and hasten with it to Richmond. Reaching Manassas after the battle he was assigned to Walker's brigade, which also included the Sixth, Seventh and Eighth Louisiana regiments. On Walker's transfer to another command, Taylor, though once refusing promotion, was persuaded by the insistence of the senior colonels and President Davis, to accept the command of the brigade and the rank of brigadier-general. With this gallant brigade, in the division of Richard S. Ewell, he participated in the battles of Front Royal, Cross Keys, Winchester and Port Republic, of Jackson's campaign in the Shenandoah valley. At Port Republic, General Taylor and his Louisianians were assigned to attack the enemy's left, and their intrepid conduct was especially commended by their great commander. The Federal batteries finally left in their hands by the defeat of the enemy were presented to the brigade. Soon after the close of the Seven Days' battles before Richmond, Taylor was promoted major-general upon the recommendation of Stonewall Jackson, and was assigned to the command of the district of Louisiana, embracing all of that State west of the Mississippi. Here he encountered the most arduous duty. Confederate authority had ceased to exist since the fall of New Orleans; fortifications at Barataria, Berwick's Bay, and other points, had been abandoned; industry was paralyzed, and soldiers, arms, munitions and money were

alike wanting. Amidst these discouraging conditions General Taylor set about the task of restoring confidence, reviving enthusiasm and creating an army. In an incredibly short time his courage and resolute energy had changed the aspect of the State. Regiments began to form, then brigades and divisions, shops and depots of supplies were established, ordnance was gathered, and river boats were transformed into an armed navy. The army so greatly due to his organizing ability and enthusiasm afterward won its triumphs and had its glories as well as the armies of Tennessee and Northern Virginia. The Federal post at Bayou des Allemands was captured, Weitzel's imposing advance down the Lafourche was checked by the determined fighting of 500 men, the "Indianola" was destroyed in naval combat, and at Berwick's Bay the Federals were forced to turn over to General Taylor 1,700 prisoners, 12 guns and vast military stores. But his operations for the relief of New Orleans were rendered futile by the fall of Vicksburg. In the spring of 1864 he was called upon to encounter the formidable invasion of the Red river country, composed of nineteen gunboats under Admiral Porter, 28,000 men under Banks, and 7,000 from Arkansas under Steele. General Taylor was able to give battle at Mansfield with a force of 8,800 men and won a glorious victory, driving the enemy four miles, and capturing 2,500 prisoners and twenty pieces of artillery. On the next day, April 9th, he struck the enemy a second staggering blow at Pleasant Hill, and a month later the Federal army crossed the Atchafalaya, leaving Taylor in undisturbed possession of his department. He then sought relief from duty, but was soon called to assume command of the department of Alabama and Mississippi, with promotion to the rank of lieutenant-general. Here he did all that could be hoped in the closing months of the struggle, until after Johnston's capitulation, when having concentrated the forces of Maury and Forrest at Meridian, he surrendered to General Canby,

at Citronelle, May 8, 1865, all the remaining forces of the Confederacy east of the Mississippi. By order of General Canby his corps commanders conformed the movement of their troops to the advice of General Taylor, and entire confidence existed between the Northern and Southern soldiers. In the troublous years which followed he was active in the interest of the South and was able to exert an important influence through his remarkable tact, charm of manner and strength of character. He visited Mr. Davis at Fortress Monroe, spent some time at Washington in efforts for the release of the distinguished captive, appealed to Johnson and Grant for a lenient administration of reconstruction laws, and was instrumental in securing the relieving of Sheridan by Hancock at New Orleans. In 1873 he visited Europe and was the recipient of a continuous social ovation. His principal literary works, "A Statesman of the Colonial Era," and "Destruction and Reconstruction," attracted wide attention. But his later years were clouded, not only by the loss of wealth, but by the death of his two young sons during the war, and his sorrow was intensified by the death of his wife, Myrthe Bringier, in 1875. After that he survived but four years, a period he passed in Virginia. He died at New York, April 17, 1879.

Lieutenant-General Jubal Anderson Early was born in Franklin county, Virginia, November 3, 1816. He was graduated from the United States military academy in 1837, and was promoted first-lieutenant of artillery in 1838, but resigned and began the practice of law in Virginia. He sat in the State legislature in 1841-2 and was commonwealth attorney from 1842 to 1852, except during 1847-8, when he served in the Mexican war in the rank of major of the Virginia volunteers. In 1861 he was a member of the Virginia convention called to determine the true position of the State in the impending conflict, and at first earnestly opposed secession, but was soon

aroused by the aggressive movements of the Federal government to draw his sword for the defense of his native State and the Confederate cause. He was commissioned colonel of the Twenty-fourth regiment of Virginia infantry, and with this rank commanded a brigade at Blackburn's Ford and Manassas, in the latter battle making a successful onslaught upon the Federal right in flank which aided in precipitating the rout which immediately followed. He was promoted brigadier-general to date from that battle. At Williamsburg he led the charge of his brigade upon the Federal position, and was wounded. In the Manassas campaign of 1862 he commanded a brigade of Ewell's division of Jackson's corps, participating in Jackson's raid around Pope and the defeat of the Federal army in the final engagement. In the Maryland campaign and at Sharpsburg after the wounding of General Lawton, he took command of Ewell's division, and also skillfully directed it at a critical moment against the Federal attack at Fredericksburg. In January, 1863, he was promoted major-general, and during the Chancellorsville campaign was left with his division and Barksdale's brigade, about ten thousand men, to hold the heights of Fredericksburg, where he made a gallant fight against Sedgwick's corps. At the opening of the Pennsylvania campaign he was entrusted by Ewell with the attack upon Winchester, which resulted in the rout of Milroy and the capture of 4,000 prisoners, and thence he marched via York, toward Harrisburg, Pa., until recalled from the Susquehanna river which he had reached, to the field of Gettysburg, where he actively participated in the successes of the first day's fighting and on the second day made a desperate assault on the Federals, gaining vantage ground which he was unable to hold single-handed. At the opening fight in the Wilderness, in temporary command of Hill's corps, he successfully resisted the Federal attempt to flank the army of Lee, and at Spottsylvania Court House in the same com-

mand he met and defeated Burnside. Again he struck that commander an effective blow at Bethesda church in the movement to Cold Harbor, and after the battle of the latter name he made two attacks upon Grant's right flank. Early was then commissioned lieutenant-general, May 31st, and soon afterward detached upon the important duty of defending the Confederate rear threatened by Hunter at Lynchburg. He promptly drove Hunter into the mountains and then marched rapidly down the Shenandoah valley, crossed into Maryland, defeated Wallace at Monocacy, and with a force reduced to about 8,000 men, was about to assault the defenses at Washington when the city was reinforced by two corps of Federal troops. Retiring safely into Virginia, he was on active duty in the valley in order to injure the Federal communications and keep as large a force as possible from Grant's army. Finally Sheridan was sent against him with an overwhelming force, against which Early made a heroic and brilliant resistance at Winchester, Fisher's Hill and Cedar Creek. He then established his army at New Market, and after Sheridan had retired from the valley he fell back to Staunton. When the army was surrendered he rode horseback to Texas, hoping to find a Confederate force still holding out, thence proceeded to Mexico, and from there sailed to Canada. Subsequently returning to Virginia he resumed his law practice for a time, but in his later years lived mostly at New Orleans. He died at Lynchburg, Va., March 2, 1894.

Lieutenant-General Stephen D. Lee was born at Charleston, S. C., September 22, 1833, of patriotic lineage. His great-grandfather, William Lee, was one of forty leading citizens of Charleston whose devotion to the Continental cause was punished by imprisonment on a prison ship and transportation to St. Augustine, Fla. His grandfather, Thomas Lee, was appointed United States district judge by President Monroe. General Lee was appointed to the

Lieut.-Gen. JOSEPH WHEELER.
Lieut.-Gen. JOHN B. GORDON.

Lieut.-Gen. STEPHEN D. LEE.
Lieut.-Gen. NATHAN B. FORREST.

West Point military academy in 1850, and was graduated in 1854, in the class with J. E. B. Stuart, O. O. Howard, Custis Lee, Pender and Pegram. He served with the Fourth U. S. artillery and held the rank of first-lieutenant and regimental quartermaster when he resigned in 1861. He was appointed a captain in the South Carolina organization, and then commissioned captain in the regular army of the Confederate States and assigned to duty as aide-de-camp to General Beauregard. With Colonel Chestnut, a brother aide, he bore the summons to Major Anderson for the surrender of Fort Sumter, and gave the subsequent notice of the opening of bombardment. After the surrender of Sumter he was called to Virginia in command of the light battery of Hampton's Legion, and there began a career as an artillery officer of the Confederate States army that was active and distinguished and of such prominence as to be recognized by rapid promotion, to major, lieutenant-colonel, colonel, and brigadier-general, November 6, 1862. He served with General Johnston in the Peninsular campaign, and at Seven Pines, and under General R. E. Lee's command at Savage Station and Malvern Hill. At the battle of Second Manassas, in command of the reserve artillery, his participation in the fighting was so gallant, judicious and effective that President Davis declared: "I have reason to believe at the great conflict on the field of Manassas he (Colonel Lee) served to turn the tide of battle and consummate the victory." Holding the same command at Sharpsburg, he encountered a destructive infantry and artillery fire, and won new honors by his intrepidity and skill. Just after the latter battle General R. E. Lee was asked by President Davis to select his most efficient and accomplished artillery officer for duty on the Mississippi, and Colonel Lee, after being permitted to name his successor as commander of the reserve artillery of the army of Northern Virginia, was ordered to report at Richmond. The situation on the Mississippi river demanded the most

skillful leadership, and Colonel Lee, selected for this duty, was promoted brigadier-general November 6, 1862, and assigned to command at Vicksburg. Thus began his career in the West, where he was destined to fully justify the anticipations of his superiors and by the manifestation of the highest qualities of soldiership win promotion to the rank of lieutenant-general at the age of thirty-one years.

In command of the Confederate forces at Chickasaw Bayou he defeated Sherman's advance in December, 1862, and in the following May, with Pemberton's army, he met Grant at Champion's Hill, where he was further distinguished for personal gallantry. After the fall of Vicksburg he was exchanged and on August 3, 1863, was promoted major-general and put in command of all the cavalry in Mississippi, Alabama, West Tennessee and East Louisiana. In this field he co-operated with Forrest in making futile Sherman's advance to Meridian. June 23, 1864, he was promoted lieutenant-general and assigned to the command of the department of Mississippi, Alabama, East Louisiana and West Tennessee, and after the battle of Harrisburg he was called to take command of Hood's corps of the army at Atlanta. There he fought the desperate battle at Ezra Church July 28th, and took part in the engagement at Jonesboro. He subsequently accompanied Hood as a corps commander in the flank movement northward. In the Tennessee campaign his corps was left at Columbia, while Hood made his flank movement at Spring Hill, and but one division was able to participate in the struggle at Franklin. In the fighting at Nashville he held Overton Hill against the enemy's assaults until after the left and center of the army were driven back, and on the next day his corps, the only one with organizations intact, covered the retreat of the army, repulsing every effort of Wilson's cavalry from dawn till late at night. During this day's fighting General Lee was severely wounded. He remained in command of his corps until he participated in the capitulation of Johnston's army.

Since the war General Lee has been active in his efforts for the re-establishment of the prosperity of the South, has served as State senator and member of the Mississi, pi constitutional convention of 1890, and since the establishment of the Agricultural and Mechanical college of Mississippi has, in the position of president of that institution, done remarkable work in the direction of building up the waste places of the South. He has been active in the work of organizing the association of United Confederate Veterans, and after several years' service as major-general of the Mississippi division, was promoted in 1894 to the position of lieutenant-general commanding the department east of the Mississippi.

Lieutenant-General Richard Henry Anderson, distinguished as a corps commander in the army of Northern Virginia, was born near Statesboro, S. C., October 7, 1821. In 1842 he was graduated at the United States military academy; was assigned to the Second dragoons in 1844; joined the army of occupation in Texas; and served in the Mexican war under General Scott. He took part in the siege of Vera Cruz, various other engagements, earning a brevet, and in the capture of the city of Mexico. In July, 1848, he was promoted first-lieutenant, and in March, 1855, captain. In 1856-57 he was stationed in Kansas and in 1859 at Fort Kearny. He resigned his commission in the United States army March 3, 1861, and was appointed major, corps of cavalry, Confederate States army, March 19, 1861, and brigadier-general July 19, 1861. His first action was as commander of the First artillery in the bombardment of Fort Sumter. On October 9th of this year, stationed at Pensacola, he led a night attack upon a New York regiment on Santa Rosa Island. With a splendid brigade of South Carolinians he joined Longstreet's command on the Virginia peninsula, and was in command on the right at Williamsburg. At Seven Pines he was in

temporary command of Longstreet's division, and at a critical moment "the magnificent brigade of R. H. Anderson" came to the support of Hill. At Gaines' Mill he was in command of his brigade on the extreme right of Longstreet, and at Frayser's Farm he also participated. On July 14, 1862, he was promoted major-general and put in command of a division of Longstreet's corps, consisting of the brigades of Armistead, Mahone and Wright. He took part in the Manassas campaign, and after a brief service in command of a division of the army of Tennessee, resumed the leadership of the division of Longstreet's corps, increased by the addition of the brigades of Wilcox, Featherstone, and Pryor, and Major Saunders' battalion of artillery. In conjunction with General Jackson he operated under General McLaws in the capture of Maryland Heights, and at Sharpsburg he fought at the center of the line, increasing his reputation for gallantry and coolness as a commander, and receiving a severe wound. He was in command of his division at Fredericksburg, and at Chancellorsville his division and McLaws' were under Lee's command, Longstreet being occupied in another field. Immediately after the crossing of the river by Hooker he moved to confront him and took a prominent part in the fighting at Chancellorsville, Salem Church and Marye's Hill. At the reorganization following Jackson's death he was assigned to Hill's corps, with which he took part in the Pennsylvania campaign, and did creditable work at Gettysburg, where on the second day, three of his brigades penetrated the Federal lines at the center, where the attack was renewed on the third day. During the autumn campaign which followed,his division was part of the Confederate force at Bristoe Station. After the wounding of Longstreet at the Wilderness, General Anderson was called to the command of his corps, which he led in the night march to Spottsylvania, checkmating Grant's flank movement, and the left of the line there repulsed the attacks of the

enemy. On May 31, 1864, he was promoted lieutenant-general. He fought at the center at Cold Harbor, in the fall reinforced Early in the Shenandoah valley, commanded the attacks on Fort Harrison before Richmond, and in command of the Fourth corps of the army of Northern Virginia, was engaged for the last time in battle at Sailor's Creek. After the close of hostilities he retired to private life, and died at Beaufort, S. C., June 26, 1879.

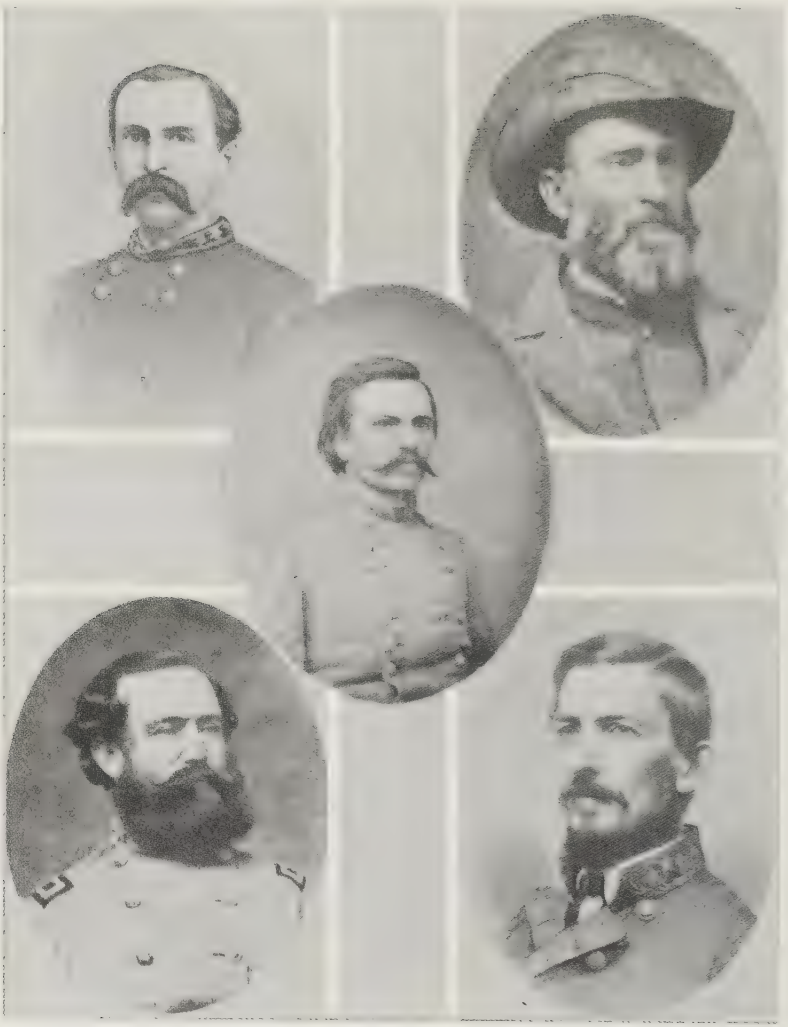
Lieutenant-General Alexander P. Stewart, called by his soldiers "Old Straight," a title in which the straightforward simplicity of his character was briefly epitomized, was born at Rogersville, East Tennessee, October 2, 1824. He was appointed to the United States military academy in 1838, and was graduated in the famous class of 1842. In the last two years of his cadetship he was the room-mate of Generals John Pope and J. E. B. Stuart. He was promoted on graduation second-lieutenant, Third artillery, and in the following year he became assistant professor of mathematics at West Point. Resigning in 1845, he held the professorship of mental and moral philosophy in Cumberland and Nashville universities until 1860, in this period wedding Miss Hattie B. Chase, of Ohio. In the military organization of Tennessee, previous to the ordinance of "separation," he held the rank of major of artillery, and in the early summer of 1861 he was engaged in establishing camps in Middle Tennessee, subsequently drilled troops and constructed batteries at Randolph on the Mississippi, and was the first to occupy Island No. 10 and New Madrid, Mo. He was in command of the heavy artillery and water batteries at Columbus, Ky., at the battle of Belmont, and by the fire of his artillery cleared the field for the moving of troops across the river for Grant's repulse. He was immediately after this promoted brigadier-general, and given command of a brigade of Tennesseeans in Polk's command. At Shiloh he led his men in repeated desperate assaults

at the "Hornet's Nest," and in Cheatham's division was successfully engaged on the field of Perryville, and in the rout of the Federal right wing at Murfreesboro. During the movement to Shelbyville he had temporary command of McCown's division. Promoted major-general in June, 1863, he was given a division of Hardee's corps, with which he held Hoover's Gap, through a hard fight, and checked the Federal advance. Transferred to Buckner's corps, he was distinguished at Chickamauga, defeating successively Palmer's and VanCleve's divisions on the 19th, and on the 20th made a brilliant advance at 11 a. m., of which D. H. Hill wrote: "This was the celebrated attack upon Reynolds and Brannan which led directly to the Federal disaster." At Missionary Ridge he commanded a division of Breckinridge's corps. During the Atlanta campaign he made a desperate fight at New Hope Church, worsting Hooker's corps and saving Stevenson's division from capture. For this Joe Johnston promised him promotion and on June 23d his commission as lieutenant-general was issued. On the death of Polk he succeeded to the command of one of the three corps of the army of Tennessee, in which capacity he served efficiently in the three great battles about Atlanta, and in the succeeding Tennessee campaign under Hood. At the last he commanded a corps of Johnston's army at Bentonville. As a commander he was quiet and modest, but he always inspired his soldiers with confidence and daring. At Resaca he had three horses shot under him; at Chickamauga he was slightly wounded; and at Ezra Church, near Atlanta, he received a flesh wound in the forehead. At Chickamauga his division went in 4,040 strong and lost 1,733 in killed and wounded. After the war he returned to Cumberland university and resumed his educational work. From 1874 to 1886 he was chancellor of the University of Mississippi. When it was determined to create a National park on the field of Chickamauga, he was most appropriately appointed a mem-

ber of the commission which had in charge the arrangement of that superb memorial of the valor of American soldiery, and he is yet engaged in that work with his residence near the National park.

Lieutenant-General Simon Bolivar Buckner was born in 1823 in Hart county, Kentucky, entered the United States military academy in 1840, and being graduated in 1844, was assigned to a lieutenancy in the Second infantry. Later he was called back to West Point as assistant professor of ethics, and from this position was returned to the active service at his request, in order that he might engage in the Mexican war. From 1848 to 1850 he was again at West Point, as assistant inspector of infantry tactics, and in 1853 he resigned his commission in the army. In 1861 during the Kentucky period of neutrality he was in the command of the State militia and performed his duties with such even balance that in August President Lincoln ordered a commission as brigadier-general in the United States army to be secretly made out, and delivered to General Buckner unless there were reason to the contrary. After the battle of Manassas the Kentucky militia disintegrated, the majority following General Buckner, who without wavering in his allegiance to his conception of duty, went south to join the army of the Confederacy. He was commissioned a brigadier-general in the provisional army September 14, 1861, and assigned to the command of the central division of Kentucky, under the general command of Albert Sidney Johnston. He at once advanced northward from Camp Boone, and one of his detachments proceeded within thirty-three miles of Cincinnati, causing great consternation at that city, and causing the advance of an opposing force under General W. T. Sherman. He then fortified and held Bowling Green, as the salient of the Confederate line in Kentucky and Tennessee. When the campaign of 1862 was opened by the Federal advance under Grant

against Fort Henry, Buckner was assigned to the defense of Fort Donelson as third in command under Floyd and Pillow. In the battle of February 14th, before Fort Donelson, he bore a distinguished part in the attack, at first successful, against the Federal lines. In the council of war which followed the repulse of this sortie, he maintained that their duty was to hold out as long as possible to allow the concentration of the main army at Nashville, saying, "For my part I will stay with the men and share their fate." After his release from Fort Warren, and exchange, he rejoined the army at Chattanooga, and being promoted major-general took command of a division of Hardee's corps, which he led in the campaign in Kentucky, and fought skillfully at the battle of Perryville. Subsequently he was put in command at Knoxville, and at Chickamauga he sustained his reputation as an able commander, fighting in the left wing in command of a corps consisting of the divisions of A. P. Stewart, William Preston and Bushrod Johnson. Writing of his position within the Federal lines toward evening on the 20th, General D. H. Hill says: "It was reported to me that a line was advancing at right angles to ours. I rode to the left to ascertain whether they were friends or foes, and soon recognized Buckner. The cheers that went up when the two wings met, were such as I have never heard before and shall never hear again." His gallant conduct in this battle and the glorious achievements of the men under his command richly merited the promotion to lieutenant-general which was made September 20, 1864. He was subsequently in command of the department of East Tennessee to April, 1864, and being transferred to the Trans-Mississippi department was assigned to the command of the district of West Louisiana and afterward of the district of Arkansas and West Louisiana. As chief of staff of General Kirby Smith he negotiated the surrender of his department, after which he made his residence in New Orleans, the terms of capitulation not



Lieut.-Gen. R. H. Anderson.
Lieut.-Gen. Wade Hampton.

Lieut.-Gen. S. B. Buckner.

Lieut.-Gen. Jubal A. Early.
Lieut.-Gen. A. P. Stewart.

permitting his return to Kentucky. In 1881 he was elected governor of Kentucky, having resumed his residence in that State, and after the expiration of his term and the conclusion of his labors in the re-assembled constitutional convention, he again made his home in his native county. In 1896, at the age of seventy-three, he was nominated for Vice-President of the United States by that branch of his party popularly known as "Gold Democrats" and in the political campaign which ensued he was an active participant.

Lieutenant-General Wade Hampton is the third of his family to bear that name, his grandfather having served with distinction in the Revolutionary war under Marion and Sumter. He was born at Columbia, S. C., in 1818, was graduated at the University of South Carolina, and afterward studied law, but without the intention of practicing that profession. He served in the State legislature in early life, and was recognized as one of the prominent men of the State, though he devoted himself not so much to public affairs as to his plantation interests in South Carolina and Mississippi and to the activities of a man of fortune. When his State decided upon her withdrawal from the Union, he promptly offered his services for her military defense in the humble station of a private, but was soon authorized to organize a command of infantry, artillery and cavalry, which became known as the Hampton Legion, and under that title achieved great distinction. He was commissioned colonel of this command in July, 1861, and very promptly won renown on the plains of Manassas. In the battle of July 21st, with six hundred of his infantry he held for some time the Warrenton road against Keyes' corps, and was sustaining General Lee when Jackson came to their aid. In the Peninsular campaign the command was again distinguished, and at Seven Pines lost half its number, and Hampton himself received a painful wound in the

foot. Soon after he was promoted brigadier-general and assigned to the command of a brigade of cavalry under J. E. B. Stuart. In the Maryland campaign of 1862 he commanded the rear guard of cavalry in the movement west from Frederick City, and did effective service. During his service under Stuart he was also frequently selected for detached service, in which he was uncommonly successful. No more desirable position could have been selected for a brave and chivalrous man, and of his troopers it has been said that "the best blood in the land rode after Stuart, Hampton and the Lees." No higher compliment can be paid to Hampton than to say that he was worthy of such a trust, and by his valor and capacity won continued promotion. After participating in Stuart's raid in the rear of Meade's army he met the enemy's cavalry near Gettysburg, July 3rd, and in the collision that ensued was thrice wounded. It is stated that twenty-one out of twenty-three field officers and more than half the men of Hampton's command were killed or wounded in this battle. August 3, 1863, he was promoted major-general, and given command of a cavalry division, and after Stuart fell at Yellow Tavern, May 11th, he took command in August of the cavalry corps of the army of Northern Virginia. He took part in the desperate fighting at Hawes' Shop, defeated the raid of Kilpatrick and Dahlgren, and after several days' fighting gave Sheridan a check at Trevilian's Station, which broke up the Federal plan of juncture with Hunter and the capture of Lynchburg. In twenty-three days he captured over 3,000 prisoners and large quantities of war material, with a loss of 719 men. In September he struck the rear of the Federal army at City Point, and brought away 400 prisoners and 2,486 beeves. Soon afterward in another action he captured 500 prisoners. In one of these daring attacks he lost his son. In February, 1865, he was promoted lieutenant-general and assigned to the command of the cavalry of the army of Joseph E. Johnston, where

he did good service in retarding Sherman's advance and selected the battle-ground of Bentonville, which was the scene of his last engagement. After hostilities closed he retired to his plantation, and politically advocated a conciliatory policy, which at first found little favor. Yet, in 1876, he was nominated for governor against D. H. Chamberlain and elected. In 1878 he met with an accident which caused the loss of a leg, and while his life still hung in the balance he was elected to the United States Senate. After long and distinguished service in this exalted position he retired in 1891 and was appointed by President Cleveland in 1893 to the position of Commissioner of Railroads for the United States, which he resigned in 1897.

Lieutenant-General Nathan Bedford Forrest in 1865, private of Cavalry in 1861. As Senator Daniel has said, "what genius was in that wonderful man! He felt the field as Blind Tom touches the keys of the piano. 'War means killing,' he said, 'and the way to kill is to get there first with the most men.' He was not taught at West Point, but he gave lessons to West Point." His career was quite as brilliant and devoted in its allegiance to duty in peace as it was in the conflict of arms. His father's family had moved from Virginia, before the Revolution, to North Carolina, where every member able to bear arms at that time fought in the cause of independence. His parents moved thence to Bedford county, Tennessee, where he was born July 13, 1821. In 1834 he moved with his father to Marshall county, Mississippi, where the latter soon died, leaving young Forrest to support the widow and family with no resources other than a small hill farm. He undertook this work with such devotion and energy, that while neglecting his own education he provided liberally for that of his brothers and sisters, and going into business at Memphis became able to purchase a large plantation, and at the outbreak of the

war was one of the wealthiest planters in Tennessee. Soon after entering the Confederate service June 14, 1861, as a private in White's mounted rifles, he obtained authority to raise a regiment of cavalry, the equipment of which he purchased at his private expense at Louisville. With great ingenuity and daring he brought these supplies to Memphis after eluding the Federal authorities and defeating a body of troops with a force of seventy-five Kentucky Confederates he had called to his aid. With his regiment he joined the forces at Fort Donelson, and after distinguishing himself in the conflict with the Federals, led his men through the enemy's lines when surrender was determined upon. Joining Albert Sidney Johnston, he was in the heat of the fight at Shiloh, and though wounded refused to leave the field until the safety of the army was assured. Subsequently, the Federals having occupied middle Tennessee, Colonel Forrest made a series of brilliant cavalry movements into that territory that made his name famous throughout America. Promoted brigadier-general July 21, 1862, he hung upon Buell's flank during the movement into Kentucky, protected Bragg's retreat, and while the army was in winter quarters actively covered the Federal front at Nashville, continually doing damage to the enemy. In 1863, in an effort to break Rosecrans' communications, he entered Tennessee with less than one thousand men, captured McMinnville, and surprised the garrison of 2,000 at Murfreesboro, capturing all the survivors of the fight, including General Crittenden. General Streight, having started on a cavalry raid to Rome, Ga., was pursued and caught up with, and so impressed by Forrest's demand for surrender, that he turned over his entire command, which was in such disproportion to their captors that Forrest had to press into service all the citizens in reach to assist in forming an adequate guard. In the great battle of Chickamauga he commanded the cavalry of the right wing, and was distinguished in the fight, but he was so

dissatisfied with the incompleteness of this Confederate victory that he tendered his resignation. Instead of its acceptance he was promoted major-general and assigned to the command of all cavalry in north Mississippi and west Tennessee, and the guardianship of the granary of the Confederacy. With a small force he entered west Tennessee and recruited several thousand hardy volunteers, which, with some veteran troops, he welded into the invincible body known as "Forrest's Cavalry." In February, 1864, General Smith with seven thousand mounted men was sent against him in co-operation with Sherman, but was utterly routed at Okolona and Prairie Mound. In return Forrest rode through Tennessee to the Ohio river, and captured Fort Pillow, Union City and other posts with their garrisons. In June 8,300 Federals under General Sturgis entered Mississippi. Forrest had only 3,200 men, but at Brice's Cross Roads he struck the straggling Federal column at its head, crushed that, and then in detail routed successive brigades until Sturgis had suffered one of the most humiliating defeats of the war, losing all his trains and a third of his men. Gen. A. J. Smith renewed the invasion with 14,000 men, but retreated after a desperate battle at Harrisburg, near Tupelo. Reorganizing his beaten forces Smith again advanced with reinforcements from Memphis, and Forrest was compelled to foil the enemy by taking half his force and making a sixty-hour ride to Memphis, the daring entry of which compelled Smith's rapid retreat. Then for a time General Forrest made havoc with the Federal transportation, garrisons and depots in Tennessee, exploits crowned by the capture and destruction of six million dollars' worth of the enemy's supplies and a gunboat fleet, at Johnsonville,—"a feat of arms," wrote Sherman, "which I must confess excited my admiration." After the fall of Atlanta he joined Hood at Florence, and fought at Franklin and Nashville. As commander of the rear guard of the retreating Confederate army, For-

rest displayed his most heroic qualities, with hardly a parallel but the famous deeds of Marshal Ney while covering Napoleon's retreat from Moscow. In February, 1865, he was promoted lieutenant-general, and given the duty of guarding the frontier from Decatur, Ala., to the Mississippi. With a few hundred hastily gathered men he made his last fight at Selma, and on May 9 he laid down his arms. It is stated that he was 179 times under fire in the four years, and he said, "My provost marshal's books will show that I have taken 31,000 prisoners." After the war he was president of the Selma, Marion and Memphis railroad until 1874. He died at Memphis, October 29, 1877. By European authority he is pronounced the most magnificent cavalry officer that America has produced.

Lieutenant-General John Brown Gordon was born in Upson county, Georgia, July 6, 1832, of Scotch ancestry, his grandfather being one of seven brothers who immigrated from Scotland previous to the Revolutionary war, in which they all took part in behalf of the colonies. The grandfather made his home in Wilkes county, North Carolina, whence Rev. Zachariah H. Gordon, father of General Gordon, removed to Georgia. Young Gordon was graduated in 1852 at the Georgia State university, and a few months later was admitted to the practice of law. Early in 1861 he enlisted with the volunteer Confederate soldiery and was elected captain of his company, rising by promotion to major and then to lieutenant-colonel of the Sixth Alabama infantry, in December, 1861. His regiment was called to Virginia to participate in the struggle on the Peninsula and assigned to Rodes' brigade of D. H. Hill's division, and on April 28, 1862, he was promoted colonel. At the battle of Seven Pines, during the gallant advance of his brigade, Rodes was severely wounded and the command devolved upon Gordon as senior colonel. At Malvern Hill he again commanded the

brigade and led it in the magnificent charge delivered against the Federal position by Hill's division. Commissioned brigadier-general November 1, 1862, he was assigned to the command of a gallant brigade of Georgians, the Thirteenth, Twenty-sixth, Thirty-first, Thirty-eighth, Sixtieth and Sixty-first regiments, which he commanded at Chancellorsville and in the Pennsylvania campaign. Leading in Early's advance upon Harrisburg, Gordon reached the Susquehanna at Wrightsville, making the most extended advance into the United States territory achieved in the East during the four years' war. Recalled on account of the concentration at Gettysburg, on the first day of the struggle there he participated prominently in the determined attack from the north which drove the Federals through the town to the strong positions which they subsequently held. During the November operations of that year he with his brigade participated in the fighting below the Rapidan. On the memorable fifth of May, when Ewell's corps struck the first blow upon the advancing columns of Grant, in the Wilderness, Gordon's brigade, after Jones had been driven back, advanced, repulsed the Federals and re-established the Confederate line. On the following day, in command of two brigades, he made a sudden attack at sunset upon Sedgwick's corps, with such gallantry that the enemy was driven from a large part of his works and six hundred prisoners captured, among them Generals Seymour and Shaler. In the succeeding struggle at Spottsylvania Court House, General Gordon was particularly distinguished as the commander of Early's division. Immediately after Johnston was overwhelmed by Hancock he threw his division in front of the victorious enemy. General Lee rode up and evidently intended to lead the men in the charge, so imminent was the peril to the army. Gordon remonstrated, the men cried "Lee to the rear," and one of them seizing the General's bridle, led his horse back, while the charge was made with fury, and the Fed-

erals were driven back to the base of the "Bloody Angle," where the fight continued with unparalleled fury during the day. On May 14, 1864, Gordon was promoted major-general and put in command of a division composed of Evans' Georgia brigade, Hays' and Stafford's Louisiana brigades, and Terry's Virginia brigade, made up of the remnants of the Stonewall brigade and others. With this command he joined Breckinridge and Early, after the battle of Cold Harbor, in the repulse of Hunter, moved to Harper's Ferry, attacked Maryland Heights, and at Monocacy led the attack on the right which routed Lew Wallace. After this campaign closed before the defenses of Washington, Gordon had a prominent part in the fighting in the Shenandoah valley under Early, and was especially distinguished in the surprise and defeat of Sheridan's army early in the day at Cedar Creek. Returning to the lines before Petersburg he was assigned to the command of the Second corps, army of Northern Virginia. In March, with about half the depleted army at his disposal, he made a desperate sally and captured Fort Stedman and parts of the line to the right and left of it, but did not have sufficient strength to hold the position. He held the last lines at Petersburg and fought with stubborn valor for every inch of space. He guarded the retreat from the fated city with brave resistance to the attacks of the enemy, and at Appomattox Court House was put in command of half of Lee's army, who were intended to cut through Grant's line, had not the surrender been determined upon. In an official report of General D. H. Hill, General Gordon was designated "the Chevalier Bayard of the Confederate army," an apt characterization of the brave and chivalrous commander. When hostilities had ended, he called his heroic men about him and advised them to bear the trial, go home in peace, obey the laws, rebuild the country and work for the future of the country. With the same policy, that "peace hath her victories no less renowned than war's,"

he has since consistently labored for the advancement of the South in a unified country. He has taken a prominent part in the National conventions of his party since 1866, was a candidate for governor of Georgia in 1868, and in 1873 and 1879 was elected United States Senator. Resigning in 1880, he actively participated in the building of the Georgia Pacific railroad. In 1886 and 1888 he was elected governor, and in 1890 again entered the United States Senate for six years' service. Since then he has retired from political activity, and has been remarkably successful in presenting at the North as well as the South a famous historic lecture upon the "Last Days of the Confederacy." Since the organization of the United Confederate Veterans of the United States he has held the honorable position of commander-in-chief of that great fraternal order, and the memorable occasion at Nashville in 1897 when he attempted to resign this position, but was unanimously and enthusiastically re-elected, testified to the warmth of affection in which he is held by the survivors of the army.

Lieutenant-General Joseph Wheeler, soldier and statesman, beloved by his soldiers, and claimed with pride by the two great States of his birth and adoption, was characterized by President Davis as "one of the ablest, bravest and most skillful of cavalry commanders," an opinion fully concurred in by the great military leaders of the South, and since confirmed by the verdict of critical history. He was born at Augusta, Ga., September 10, 1836, and was graduated at the United States military academy in 1859, with promotion to second-lieutenant of dragoons. At first assigned to duty at the Carlisle cavalry school, he was thence transferred to New Mexico. February 21, 1861, he resigned his Federal commission, and reaching Augusta in March, he was appointed first-lieutenant, corps of artillery, C. S. A. In this service he was stationed at Pensacola, and in September was promoted to

colonel of the Nineteenth Alabama infantry regiment, and to brigadier-general of cavalry in July, 1862. In the cavalry service, he won promotion to the rank of major-general and corps command early in 1863; on May 11, 1864, at the age of twenty-seven years, he was the senior cavalry general of the Confederate States; was promoted lieutenant-general, February 28, 1865; and for his services received the thanks of Congress. From early in 1862 until the war closed he was almost constantly engaged in battle. He was wounded three times. Thirty-six of his staff officers fell by his side, six killed and thirty wounded, and sixteen horses were shot under him. Going into the battle of Shiloh in command of his regiment, he led his brigade in the vigorous attack which resulted in the capture of General Prentiss and over 2,000 men. Wheeler, taking the prisoners in charge, was highly complimented by General Bragg, and ordered to convey the captured division to the rear. But desiring to continue in the fight, he detailed Colonel Shorter for this duty, and with the balance of the brigade remained at the front, winning praise in the official reports of his superior officers. This first great battle in the West, one of the bloodiest of the war, was a severe test of the mettle of officers and men, and it is to be noted as a premonition of Wheeler's future career, that at the close of the first day he was in command at the front of the greater part of his division, under the general orders of the gallant Withers. Of his work on the second day, amid disorganization, a glimpse is given in the report of General Chalmers: "Colonel Wheeler, of the Nineteenth Alabama, was, with a small remnant of his regiment, fighting with the Mississippians, on foot himself, and bearing the colors of his command," in the last charge against the enemy. Subsequently he commanded the rear guard in the retreat to Corinth, during the siege of which he was distinguished in a fight on the Monterey road, in command of two brigades of Withers' division. After guarding the rear in

the retreat to Tupelo, he was sent on a raid in West Tennessee in command of a cavalry brigade, as preliminary to the advance into Kentucky. His battles during Bragg's Kentucky campaign; his resistance to Buell's advance upon Munfordville, which enabled Bragg to capture the fort and garrison with over 4,000 prisoners; his skillful fighting and gallant charges at Perryville, driving the enemy and capturing a battery, won for him at once an enduring reputation as a cavalry leader. On July 13th Bragg appointed this young colonel chief of cavalry of the army of Mississippi, with authority to give orders in the name of the commanding general, and the duty of covering the rear of the army and holding the enemy in check. During the retreat he fought his men in mounted charge, dismounted behind stone fences or rail breastworks, displaying wonderful fertility of resource, and as the result of his efforts, instead of the disaster which seemed inevitable, the army reached Middle Tennessee without losing any of its immense and slow moving trains. From August 27th to October 22d his cavalry was in almost daily fighting. After this "Wheeler's cavalry" were household words, and "Little Joe" Wheeler, as his men affectionately called him, was the pride of the Central South. At Murfreesboro, a brigadier-general in division command of all the Confederate cavalry brigades, he made a raid around the Federal army, and, in the fierce attack upon Rosecrans' left, led his men in a resistless charge over cavalry, infantry and artillery. Two weeks later, he made another raid in the enemy's rear, capturing four large transports and four hundred prisoners on the Cumberland river, and also capturing and destroying a gunboat which pursued him. General Bragg immediately asked "his promotion as a just reward to distinguished merit," and the rank of major-general was conferred. He ably covered Bragg's retreat to Chattanooga, and after distinguished service in command of the cavalry at Chickamauga, and the

cooping-up of Rosecrans at Chattanooga, he arranged with Bragg for operations against the enemy's communications with Bridgeport. Burnside's army was on the south side of the Tennessee and Crook's division of cavalry at the only fordable point. Even Forrest thought the conditions too hazardous for the contemplated movement, but Wheeler contended that a bold dash would win. With appointment to chief command of the cavalry of the army of Tennessee Wheeler was ordered upon the raid to the rear of Rosecrans, which his genius made one of the most brilliant on record. Starting with rear and flanks harassed by Burnside's cavalry, Wheeler with 3,780 men boldly forded the wide and deep river in the face of General Crook, a gallant enemy, defeated him, gained the Federal rear, brushed aside two brigades which guarded the immense trains, destroyed 1,200 loaded wagons, killed 4,000 mules, and burned and blew up three hundred ammunition wagons, while fighting both in rear and front with the Federal cavalry. Slipping off at night, he crossed Walden Ridge, and captured the fortified town of McMinnville, with 600 prisoners and the stores of the Federal left wing, which he destroyed together with several railroad trains and a wagon train, still in constant fight with his pursuers. Not yet content, on the next day he captured the forts at Stone's river, destroyed bridges and railroads for many miles, captured Shelbyville and Columbia, and then, closely followed by a Federal force of 7,500 reached the Tennessee at Mussel Shoals. To gain time to cross he led in person a fierce charge upon the enemy, and successful in this, was the last man to cross the river, under the terrific fire of the Federal advance. In conveying his thanks for this brilliant service General Bragg authorized Wheeler to designate officers for promotion, two to major-general and four to brigadier-general. The appointments he recommended were made by telegraph, and among them was that of General, now Senator Mor-

gan, of Alabama. Subsequently General Wheeler with his cavalry led the advance of Longstreet against Knoxville, defeating Burnside's cavalry, and capturing trains, batteries and nearly a thousand prisoners, and then being recalled to Bragg's assistance, gallantly defended the rear of the Confederate army on November 26th, and co-operating with General Cleburne on the next day at Ringgold Gap, put a final check to Grant's pursuit. During 1864, throughout the operations of J. E. Johnston and Hood, he performed the duties of a lieutenant-general, in command of the cavalry corps of the army of Tennessee, and was distinguished for activity and skill. Every effort of Sherman's great army to turn the Confederate flank was met and successfully baffled by Wheeler, and every change of position was made without loss under his watchful protection. Late in July, with a force of less than 5,000, he defeated 9,000 Federal cavalry under Generals Stoneman, McCook and Garrard, capturing their batteries and trains and 3,200 prisoners, including one major-general and five brigade commanders. Sherman's cavalry having been crippled, General Wheeler proceeded to attack his lines of communication, recapturing Dalton and Resaca, destroying railroad bridges, diverting to Hood the Federal supplies and capturing many prisoners, while to his rear a hundred thousand Federals formed a line of fire about the doomed city of Atlanta. In October he co-operated with Hood in the advance against Sherman's communications, and after Hood had entered Tennessee Wheeler put his little cavalry command before Sherman's 65,000 en route through Georgia. He successfully defended Macon and Augusta, and before Savannah held open the only avenue of escape for Hardee's army. As has been written by President Davis, "The report of his operations from November 14th to December 20th displays a dash, activity, vigilance and consummate skill, which justly entitle him to a prominent place on the roll of great cavalry leaders. By his indom-

itable energy, operating on all sides of Sherman's columns, he was enabled to keep the government and commanders of our troops advised of the enemy's movements, and by preventing foraging parties from leaving the main body, he saved from spoliation all but a narrow tract of country, and from the torch millions worth of property which would otherwise have been certainly destroyed." In 1865 he stubbornly contested Sherman's advance through the Carolinas, receiving the thanks of the State of South Carolina; on March 10th, inflicted severe punishment upon Kilpatrick's command; fought with Hardee at Averysboro, and at Bentonville, under Lieut.-Gen. Wade Hampton, after a desperate struggle drove back Sherman's right wing which had seized Johnston's only line of retreat. He fought his last fight April 15th, and the 29th, after the surrender, issued his farewell address to the cavalry, summarizing their career and his own in the eloquent words: "You are the sole victors of more than two hundred severely contested fields; you have participated in more than a thousand conflicts of arms; you are heroes, veterans, patriots; the bones of your comrades mark the battlefields upon the soil of Kentucky, Tennessee, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi; you have done all that human exertion could accomplish." During three years following the war General Wheeler was in the commission business at New Orleans, leaving there in 1869 for his plantation in Lawrence county, Alabama, where he entered the practice of law, declining, in 1866, the professorship of philosophy in the Louisiana State seminary. In 1880 he was elected the representative of his district to Congress, and has ever since been regularly re-elected by his people. In Congress he has become one of the most distinguished members. Notable among his speeches in that body have been his defense of Fitz John Porter, his reply to Mr. Hepburn, of Iowa, and his arguments upon the force bill and the tariff.

His whole career since the war, marked by an unfaltering allegiance to his comrades, has continued to endear him in the hearts of all survivors of the Confederate armies.

When the United States found it necessary to call a volunteer army into the field for the war with Spain, General Wheeler was commissioned major-general. In command of the cavalry division of the army under General Shafter he went to Santiago, Cuba, and was in command of the center of the line of the United States forces in the battle of July 1, 1898, when the dismounted cavalry carried the heights of San Juan. Though already attacked with fever, he went to the front, shared the dangers of his men, and by his personal heroism and wisdom in council won the admiration and love of the united nation.

Admiral Franklin Buchanan, Confederate States navy, was born at Baltimore, September 11, 1800. He was a grandson of Governor McKean of Pennsylvania, and a brother of Paymaster McKean, who was upon the Congress when destroyed by the Virginia. He entered the United States navy as midshipman January 28, 1815, was promoted lieutenant, January 13, 1825, and master-commander September 8, 1841. In 1845 he was detailed by Secretary Bancroft to locate and organize the United States naval academy at Annapolis, and he served as its first superintendent until 1847. During the Mexican war he commanded the Germantown and cooperated with General Scott in landing of troops at Vera Cruz, and was conspicuous in the capture of San Juan 'd Ulloa. As commander of the flagship Susquehanna he was a prominent participant in Perry's expedition to Japan, in 1852 to 1855. In the latter year he was commissioned captain, and in 1859 he was placed in command of the Washington navy yard. On April 22, 1861, following the affair of the 19th at Baltimore, he tendered his resignation, but it subsequently appearing that Maryland would

not secede, he asked that he might recall the same, which was refused. He entered the Confederate navy September 5, 1861, as a captain, and was first assigned to duty as chief of orders and details. Early in 1861 he was ordered to the command of the new iron-clad Virginia, for which he organized a crew, and prepared for the historic action in Hampton Roads. Going down the harbor March 8th, in the untried and unwieldy monster, he called all the hands to muster, and pointing to the Union fleet said: "Those ships must be taken, and you shall not complain that I do not take you close enough. Go to your guns!" In the action which followed he was seriously wounded, but fortunately not until the Congress had been captured and the Cumberland sunk, demonstrating the fighting qualities of his ship, under his skillful command. Congress being in session at the time, he was thanked by resolution and a bill was soon passed creating the grade of admiral in the navy, to which Buchanan was nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate, August 21, 1862. Later in that year he was assigned to the important post of commander of the naval force at Mobile. The operations of the Federal fleet against that port began in January, 1864, and from that date he was busily engaged in co-operation with Gen. Dabney H. Maury in devising means to hold this stronghold, struggling against a pitiful deficiency of everything but the valor of the men at their command. He had previously built and equipped the ram Tennessee, a powerful iron-clad resembling the Virginia in general appearance. In command of this vessel and three gunboats, in all twenty-two guns, he engaged with characteristic intrepidity the Federal fleet commanded by Farragut, consisting of four monitors and fourteen other warships, and mounting 159 guns and 33 howitzers, during and after their passage of the forts into Mobile Bay, August 5, 1864. After his leg was broken by an iron splinter and the ram was disabled by the concentrated fire of the

whole Federal fleet, he was compelled to surrender. To what achievements and world-wide fame his skill and daring might have brought him, had the naval resources of the Confederacy been commensurate, is an interesting subject for conjecture. After the close of hostilities he was called by his Maryland brethren to the presidency of the State Agricultural college, but he did not survive the decade following the war, dying at his home, "The Rest," in Talbot county, Maryland, May 11, 1874.

Rear-Admiral Raphael Semmes was born in Charles county, Maryland, September 27, 1809, a descendant of one of the Catholic families which came from England to the west shore of Maryland in the seventeenth century. He was appointed a midshipman in the United States navy by President John Quincy Adams in 1826, but he did not enter the active service until 1832, the intervening period being spent in naval study at Norfolk, and in the reading of law, during his furloughs, with his brother, Samuel M. Semmes, an attorney at Cumberland, Md. He was undecided at this time whether to devote himself to law and literature or to an adventurous life at sea, but after being admitted to the bar he decided to make his career in the navy. He made his first cruise in 1832, was promoted lieutenant in 1837, and in 1842 established his home in Alabama. At the beginning of the war with Mexico he was flag-lieutenant of Commodore Connor, commanding the squadron of the Gulf, and in the siege of Vera Cruz he had charge of one of the batteries on shore. Subsequently he was in command of the brig Somers, engaged in blockade duty, and was fortunately rescued when that vessel was knocked down by a gale of wind and most of her crew were drowned. After peace was restored he served for several years as inspector of lighthouses on the Gulf coast, in 1855 was promoted commander, and in 1858 was assigned to duty at Washington, as secretary of the lighthouse board. Dur-

ing this period of peace he published "The Campaign of General Scott," and "Service Afloat and Ashore During the Mexican War." Holding himself in allegiance to the State of Alabama, of which he was a citizen, he resigned his commission as soon as that State seceded, and reporting to Mr. Davis at Montgomery, was at once entrusted with the important duty of visiting the North to purchase war material and engage mechanics for the manufacture of ordnance machinery, ammunition, etc. On this tour he inspected the Virginia State arsenal and Tredegar iron works with a view to their use for military purposes, witnessed the inauguration of Mr. Lincoln, examined the machinery of the Washington arsenal, and visited the principal work shops in New York, Connecticut and Massachusetts. He purchased percussion caps at New York, had thousands of pounds of powder shipped South, and made contracts for artillery and machinery. With a nice sense of honor he never afterward betrayed the names of the thrifty Northerners who thus contributed to the military needs of the South. He was then commissioned commander and put in charge of the lighthouse bureau, and two weeks later was sent to New Orleans to fit out the cruiser Sumter, with which he cut through the river blockade and made a six months' cruise, mainly in West India waters, taking eighteen prizes. This vessel he was compelled to abandon at Gibraltar, whence he proceeded to England, where the "290" was in preparation, and took command of the cruiser, then christened the Alabama, in charge of which he gained a world-wide fame. His cruise on this vessel began in September, 1862, and ended in June, 1864, during which period he captured nearly seventy merchantmen and sunk one Federal gunboat. After the brave action with the Kearsarge, of Cherbourg, France, where the Alabama was sunk, he was rescued by the English yacht Deerhound and was presented with a sword by officers of the British army and navy, and a Confederate flag by a noble English

lady After a tour of the continent he sailed for Havana, and thence to Mexico and reached Shreveport in November. With promotion to rear-admiral he commanded the James River squadron until the city was evacuated, and surrendered as rear-admiral C. S. N., and brigadier-general C. S. A., with Johnston's army. He then began the practice of law at Mobile, but despite his parole, was arrested December 15, 1865, and imprisoned for four months. After his release he was elected probate judge of Mobile county, but forbidden to assume the office. Subsequently he was engaged as an editor, as a professor in the Louisiana military institute, and as a lawyer, and published the historical works, "The Cruise of the Alabama and Sumter," and "Memoirs of Service Afloat." He died August 30, 1877.

Andrew Barry Moore, governor of Alabama during the inception of the Confederate government, was a native of South Carolina, born March 7, 1806. He removed to Perry county, Alabama, in 1826, became a lawyer by profession, and first appeared in the legislature of Alabama in 1839. He was defeated by the Whigs in 1840, but was re-elected in 1842, and for three succeeding years. During the latter three sessions, 1843, 1844 and 1845, he was speaker of the house. He was presidential elector in 1848. In 1851 he was appointed to the circuit bench, and regularly elected to the same until 1857, when he was elected governor of Alabama without opposition. In 1859 he was re-elected as chief executive. While the State convention was in session for the purpose of withdrawing the State from the Union, Governor Moore sent a military command to seize the Federal works and military stores at Pensacola and entered with great energy upon preparations to defend his State. At the close of his term he was appointed special aide-de-camp to Governor Shorter. He was arrested by Federal authority and confined at Fort Pulaski in 1865, together with a number of other dis-

tinguished Confederate statesmen. His health failed in consequence of his imprisonment and he was released during the year. Returning to his State he resumed the practice of law. His death occurred at Marion, Ala., April 5, 1873. Governor Moore had at all times the respect of the people of his State. Manly in bearing, cordial in manner, honorable in all things, he was esteemed as a model public officer.

John Gill Shorter, second governor of Alabama during the Confederate period, was born in Jasper county, Georgia, in 1818, and was graduated at the university of that State in 1837. His father, Gen. Reuben C. Shorter, removed to Alabama and settled at Eufaula in 1836, where the son made his home and embarked in the practice of law after leaving college. He was admitted to the bar in 1838, and in 1842 was appointed solicitor of his judicial circuit. In 1844 he was elected to the State senate, and in 1851 to the house. He was appointed judge of the circuit court in 1851, elected to the same office in 1852, and re-elected; so that he served nine years on the bench. In 1861 he visited the secession convention of Georgia as a commissioner from Alabama. He was a member of the provisional congress, and in 1861 was elected governor. In this position he served until 1863. He died at Eufaula, May 29, 1872.

Henry M. Rector, first war governor of Arkansas, was born at St. Louis, Mo., in 1816. He became a citizen of Arkansas in 1835 and soon rose to prominence as an attorney and public man. He was United States marshal from 1843 to 1845, and judge of the Supreme court from 1859 to 1860. Through the bequest of his father, Maj. Elias Rector, he was interested, and finally successful as a claimant in the famous Hot Springs litigation. In June, 1860, the Democratic State convention nominated Richard H. Johnson for governor, and Rector resigned

his position as supreme justice to run as an independent candidate on a platform embodying the Union sentiment. After a heated canvass he received a majority of about 3,500, and was inaugurated November 15, 1860, in his address on that occasion deprecating hasty action, but asserting that Arkansas should unite her fortunes with the other Southern States in case of any encroachments upon their rights. When the issue was upon the State, he was emphatically a war governor, and energetic and faithful in the discharge of his delicate and important duties. By a defect in the constitution of 1861 his term was shortened from four to two years, and on account of the resulting controversy he resigned November 4, 1862, and declined renomination, maintaining that he was entitled to hold for the four years. Governor Rector is still living at Little Rock, at the age of eighty-one years (1897).

Thomas Fletcher, who succeeded Henry M. Rector as governor of Arkansas, was born at Nashville, Tenn., about the year 1817. Entering upon the study of law, he became of prominence in that profession and in the activities of political life, and during the administration of President Polk was appointed to the office of United States marshal, with his headquarters at Natchez, Miss. In 1850 he made his home in Arkansas, and soon occupied a leading position. He was president of the senate of Arkansas during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth sessions, from 1858 to 1863, and was president of the Confederate senate held at Washington, Ark., in October, 1864. After the close of the war he was a member of the State senate of 1874-5. In 1878 he began the practice of the law at Little Rock, but his career was soon afterward terminated by his death, which occurred in 1880. His service as governor of Arkansas continued from the resignation of Governor Rector until the inauguration of Harris Flanagin, who was chosen at a special election held November 15, 1862, his tenure of the office being by virtue of his position as president of the Senate.

Harris Flanagin, governor of Arkansas from 1862 until the downfall of Confederate authority in the State, was born at Roadstown, N. J., November 3, 1817. He moved west to Illinois, and thence removed to Arkansas in 1837, making his home in Clark county. Here engaging in the practice of law he soon attained prominence, and in 1842 was elected to the legislature. At the beginning of the war he entered the Confederate service as captain of Company E of the second regiment of Arkansas mounted rifles, and in a short time was promoted colonel of the regiment. In this capacity he was serving when elected governor of the State at the special election held November 15, 1862. During the remainder of the Confederate period, until the election of Isaac Murphy, 1864, he held the position of chief executive, and during the darkest days for the cause maintained himself with fortitude and ability. After the close of the war he resumed his residence at Arkadelphia, and again engaged in the practice of his profession. In 1874 he was a member of the constitutional convention of the State. His death occurred October 23, 1874.

John Milton, governor of Florida during the war, was born April 21, 1807, in Jefferson county, Ga. His father was Gen. Homer Virgil Milton, an officer in the regular army in 1812, and his grandfather was the John Milton for whom Georgia in the first presidential election cast her vote for President of the United States against George Washington. He was educated at the academy in Louisville, the county seat of Jefferson county, studied law under Roger L. Gamble, and beginning the practice of his profession in his native county, continued it at Columbus, Ga. As a resident of the latter town he engaged in politics and was defeated as a candidate for congress on the nullification issue. He subsequently was quite successful as a lawyer at Mobile and New Orleans. While a citizen of Mobile, as

captain of a volunteer company, he served in the Florida Indian war of 1837-39. In 1846 he moved to Jackson county, Florida, and devoted himself mainly to the occupations of a planter, appearing in court only occasionally, but continuing his interest in public affairs. His voice was heard in every political contest from 1846 to 1860. He was elected to the Florida State Senate in 1849 and was Democratic elector in 1848. As a member of the national Democratic convention in 1860, he was a warm supporter of General Breckinridge. In the same year he was elected governor of Florida, and in 1861 was inaugurated for a term of four years. He warmly endorsed the action of his State in secession and at once began active efforts for military defense. In 1864 and 1865 there were heavy and repeated calls for men and provisions. The old and young of Florida, inspired by the influence of their governor, had enlisted, and fighting in other fields left her extensive coast insufficiently guarded. Ports were seized by the enemy, and invasions made of the interior. In March, 1865, the United States troops landed at St. Marks, threatening the capital, but were repulsed at Natural Bridge. In this action Governor Milton's eldest son, Maj. W. H. Milton, commanded the cavalry, and another son, John Milton, a thirteen-year-old lad, fought with the cadets of the Tallahassee military school. These attacks upon his State, and the conviction that the Confederacy was gradually growing weaker, caused much distress to the governor, and as a result of four years' nervous strain, he became a victim of brain affection and died April 1, 1865. By his first marriage to Susan Amanda Cobb, of Athens, Ga., one son survives, Maj. William H. Milton, who has been conspicuous in the affairs of the State. By his second marriage to Caroline Howze, of Alabama, two sons are living, John Milton and Jefferson Davis, one in Florida and one in Texas, and three daughters.

Joseph Emerson Brown, war governor of Georgia, was born in Pickens district, South Carolina, April 15, 1821. His father fought under Gen. Andrew Jackson, and his grandfather in the Revolutionary war. During his boyhood the family removed to Georgia, where he obtained an education and studied law amid great privations and self-sacrifice. He was graduated at Yale college in 1846, practiced law at Canton, Ga.; was elected State senator in 1849; presidential elector in 1852; and judge of the superior courts of the Blue ridge district in 1855. He was first elected governor in 1857, and was re-elected in 1859, 1861 and 1863. Governor Brown was prompt and decisive in his movements at the approach of the war. He ordered the seizure of Forts Pulaski and Jackson in January, 1861, put two regiments in the field before the Confederacy was organized, and personally seized the government arsenal at Augusta. On the downfall of the Confederacy he was imprisoned a few days at Washington. During reconstruction times he strongly urged the wisdom of accepting the situation, and complying with the terms prescribed. He was appointed chief justice of the Supreme court of Georgia, but resigned in 1870 to become president of the company in charge of the Western and Atlantic railroad. In 1880 he was elected United States senator to succeed General Gordon, and was re-elected in 1884. His death occurred in 1895.

George W. Johnson, first provisional governor of Kentucky, was born near Georgetown, in that State, May 27, 1811. He was the grandson of Col. Robert Johnson, a hero of the Revolutionary period. After graduation at Transylvania university, he studied law, and practiced that profession some time, but finally devoted himself to extensive agricultural interests in Kentucky and Arkansas. He represented Scott county in the Kentucky legislature three years, 1838-40, and was a candidate for presidential elector in 1852 and 1860. In 1861 he labored

earnestly to induce Kentucky to range herself with the States which had formed the Confederacy, and left his home with General Breckinridge and others, later to devote himself to the cause. He set on foot the organization of a provisional government for Kentucky, and was chosen the first executive. When the Confederate forces retired from the State, he accompanied Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, participated in important military councils, went into the battle of Shiloh as aide to General Breckinridge, fought in the ranks after his horse was shot, and enlisted on the night of the first day as a private in Company E, of the First Kentucky regiment of infantry. Participating in the battle of the second day, he received serious and fatal wounds, and lay on the field until the next day, when he was discovered and cared for by General McCook, of the Federal army. He died on a hospital boat, April 9, 1862, and his remains were conveyed to his Kentucky home and there interred amidst a great manifestation of popular regard.

Richard Hawes, second provisional governor of Kentucky, was born in Caroline county, Virginia, February 6, 1797. His family bore an honorable part in the colonial history. His father, for several years a delegate in the Virginia legislature, emigrated to Kentucky in 1810. Judge Hawes was liberally educated, principally at Transylvania university, was admitted to the bar in 1818, and became the law partner of Robert Wickliffe. He sat in the legislature for Clark county in 1828, 1829 and 1834; and represented the Ashland district in Congress in 1837-41. In 1861 he was one of the committee of six appointed by the legislature to further the policy of armed neutrality. This plan failing he entered the army in Virginia, with rank of major, and for eight or nine months served as brigade commissary. In May, 1862, he was chosen provisional governor of Kentucky by the State council, to succeed Governor Johnson, and was in-

augurated at Frankfort, October 4. He held this office until the close of the war, though the position at Frankfort was not long maintained. In 1865 he returned to his devastated home at Paris, and was elected judge of the Bourbon county court in 1866, a position he held until his death, May 25, 1877.

Thomas Overton Moore came of good colonial stock. His maternal grandfather, Gen. Thomas Overton, was major under Light Horse Harry Lee in the days of '76. Born in North Carolina—his family being so noted as to give their name to one of its counties—he came to Louisiana to live the life of a cotton planter in Rapide Parish. The time was to come, however, when broader duties were to draw him from the repose of a country life. His strict integrity, purity in private life, and uncompromising attitude on the political issues of the day, placed him in the State senate. So satisfactory was his term as senator that, in 1860, he was elected governor on the Democratic ticket. Governor Moore was the most active leader in the official preliminaries of secession. His energy in calling the convention at Baton Rouge to decide the momentous issue before the people; his signing the ordinance of secession, when passed, and under it promptly seizing all military posts and garrisons within the state limits, are part of the war record of Louisiana. Not so well known, however, is his humane effort, by the opening of free markets, to relieve the starving poor of New Orleans. His active sympathy with the troops led to the establishment of a Relief association for the benefit of soldiers. His gubernatorial career throughout shows the influence of his intense admiration for the great Democrat, Andrew Jackson. Probably this trait was part of his family inheritance. His grandfather had stood, as second on the field of honor, at the side of Andrew Jackson; and an uncle, Walter H. Overton, acted as aide to the General at the battle of New Orleans. A trace of the Jacksonian traditions was seen in Governor Moore's com-

pelling the banks for their own safety—in defiance of forfeiture of charters—to suspend specie payments. Before the surrender of New Orleans, and as a practical measure warranted alone by the exigencies of the time, he prohibited planters from adding other bales to the cotton supply already crowding the levee. When the city fell, he promptly summoned the State legislature to meet at Opelousas. Finding it difficult to insure a quorum in that town, he transferred its sessions to Shreveport, which remained, throughout the conflict, the war capital of Louisiana. Governor Moore did not long survive the war. In June, 1876, he passed away at his home in Rapide Parish, honored by the people of the State which he had so loyally and intelligently served. He died at the ripe age of seventy-three.

Henry Watkins Allen, second war governor of Louisiana, was born in Prince Edward county, Virginia, April 29, 1820. His father, a noted physician, removed to Lexington, Mo., and Henry was placed in Marion college, whence he went to Grand Gulf, Miss., in consequence of a family dispute. There he became a lawyer, and after creditable service in the Texan war with Mexico, he was elected to the legislature in 1846. Later he settled near West Baton Rouge, and was elected to the Louisiana legislature, in 1853. In 1859 he went to Europe to engage in the Italian struggle for independence, and made a tour of the continent. On his return he again sat in the legislature. When war broke out he was commissioned lieutenant-colonel and stationed at Ship Island. Subsequently he was made colonel of the Fourth Louisiana regiment and military governor of Jackson. He was wounded at Shiloh, and at Vicksburg rendered valuable service in the construction of fortifications. At Baton Rouge he was badly wounded. On his recovery his devoted service was recognized by promotion to the rank of brigadier-general, in September, 1864,

and soon afterward he was elected governor of Louisiana. He was active in this position in the interests of the Confederacy, arranged for payment of the cotton tax in kind, and opened a route for the exportation of cotton and the importation of necessities through Texas to Mexico. After the war he settled in Mexico, and established the "Mexican Times" at the national capital. He died in that city April 22, 1866.

John J. Pettus, first war governor of Mississippi, was born in Wilson county, Tennessee, October 9, 1813, and came when a young man to the State of which he was afterward the chief executive. He settled in Kemper county, which he represented in both branches of the legislature, in subsequent years. In 1859 he was nominated by the Democratic party for governor, was elected, and qualified November 18, 1859. During the term which followed he was confronted with the most momentous and trying duties, which he discharged with such signal ability and sound judgment as to win the confidence of the people of the State, and secure a re-election at their hands. In 1863 he was compelled by the continued encroachments of the Federal forces to remove the State offices to Columbus, Miss. Such was his intense devotion to the cause of the Confederacy that after the surrender of the armies he lost heart and hope, abandoned Mississippi, and went to Arkansas, where he lived the life of a recluse and died January 25, 1867.

Charles Clark, the last war governor of Mississippi, was born in Ohio, May, 1811, a lineal descendant of a Mayflower colonist. He was graduated at Augusta college, Kentucky, and then emigrated to Mississippi, where he engaged in teaching school. While thus occupied he also pursued the study of law, and on being admitted to the bar located in Jefferson county, and subsequently made his home in Bolivar county, Mississippi. Both of these counties he represented in the legislature. He

went into the Mexican war as captain, and was soon elected colonel. When Mississippi organized for the war of 1861, he was first a brigadier-general of State troops, afterward major-general, and was commissioned brigadier-general in the provisional army of the Confederate States. At Shiloh he commanded a division and was wounded in the shoulder. At Baton Rouge he also commanded a division, was severely wounded, captured and taken to New Orleans. When he returned home, being disabled by his wounds from further military service, he was elected governor of the State, in 1864, a position he held until the Confederacy dissolved. He was imprisoned at Fort Pulaski, and on his release resumed his law practice. In 1876 he was appointed district chancellor of chancery. He died in December, 1877, at his plantation in Bolivar county.

Claiborne Fox Jackson, governor of Missouri at the beginning of the war, was born in Fleming county, Kentucky, April 4, 1807. He emigrated to Missouri in 1822, raised a volunteer company and served as its captain in the Black Hawk war. For twelve years he was a member of the legislature, was speaker of the house one term, was one of the originators of the banking house system of Missouri, and for several years was bank commissioner, his ability as a financier and administrative officer becoming widely recognized. In 1860 he was elected governor of the State, and was inaugurated January 4, 1861. In his address on this occasion he declared that Missouri could not endure the doctrine of coercion, but must adhere to the cause of the South, and recommended a State convention to determine the will of the people. In May following he called an extra session of the legislature and recommended placing the State in an attitude of defense against Northern aggression. On September 16, 1861, Governor Jackson abandoned the capitol, on the advance of the Federal forces, and on the 26th called an

extra session of the legislature at Neosho. On July 31st the State convention had declared his office vacant and appointed a new governor. He entered the army of the Confederacy with the rank of brigadier-general, but was compelled by failing health to resign, and died at Little Rock, Ark., December 6, 1862.

John W. Ellis, governor of North Carolina at the outbreak of the war of the Confederacy, was first elected to that position in 1858 and was re-elected by a large majority in 1860. He was an ardent advocate of the ordinance of secession, and when hostilities began, though sinking under a fatal disease, he was prompt to seize the public works and military stores within the State. April 20, 1861, he ordered the seizure of the United States mint at Charlotte. In July, 1861, he died at White Sulphur Springs. Previous to his election as governor, Mr. Ellis had attained distinction as an attorney, had been a member of the general assembly in 1844, and in 1848 had been called to the bench of the superior court.

Colonel Henry Toole Clark, of Edgecomb, was president of the senate of North Carolina which met in November, 1860, and upon the death of Governor Ellis, in July, 1861, he succeeded to the gubernatorial functions. He served until January 1, 1863, during the trying period of the organization of the State for war, and was succeeded by Governor Vance. After the close of the war, Colonel Clark was elected a member of the famous legislature of 1865. His death occurred February 21, 1874. He was a man of great amiability and much literary culture. He was graduated at Chapel Hill in 1826.

Colonel Zebulon B. Vance, governor of North Carolina from January 1, 1863, until the close of the war, was born in Buncombe county, May 13, 1830, of Revolutionary ancestry. He studied law in 1851, and began the practice and his political career. As a Whig he was elected to

the state legislature in 1854. Four years later he was elected to the United States Congress, where he served as a representative until March, 1861. In Congress he opposed secession, but when that course became inevitable he was one of the first in the field for the military defense of the Confederate government. He entered the service as a captain, and was chosen colonel of the Twenty-sixth regiment in August, 1861. His first election as governor occurred August 2, 1862, and by special ordinance he was inaugurated in September. He was re-elected in 1864, and inaugurated January 1, 1865. His administrations entitle him to rank as one of the greatest among the war governors of the South. Governor Vance served as a soldier only about fifteen months, but during that time made a record for valor and skill which won the high esteem of officers and privates in the Confederate army. His State seceded May 20th, and on that day his company was in camp at Raleigh, and he was its commissioned captain ready for service, as a part of the Fourteenth North Carolina regiment. After service in Virginia as captain he was promoted in August, 1861, colonel of the Twenty-sixth North Carolina regiment, with which command he participated in the New Bern engagement and the celebrated battles around Richmond. After the defeat of Lee he went from Raleigh with Johnston's army until he joined President Davis at Charlotte, to counsel with him in the disastrous posture of Confederate affairs. Parting with Mr. Davis, he remained at Statesville, Iredell county, until he was given the distinction of arrest as a political prisoner, with confinement for several months in Old Capitol prison, at Washington. Finally released on his parole, and returning to his State, he took an active part in its restoration to a constitutional standing among the other States. In 1870, his legislature sent him to the United States Senate, but Congress refused to remove his disabilities, and he consequently resigned the office. At length his citizen-

ship was recognized and he was again a candidate for the United States Senate, but on account of a combination of Republicans with others who disliked his bold course he was defeated. The people, however, rallied to him, and by an uprising made him governor for the third time. His inauguration January 1, 1877, was the downfall of "reconstruction" in North Carolina. In 1873 he was again elected to the United States Senate, took his seat March, 1879, and as a senator served his State faithfully during the following twelve years. In the Senate, as before the people, he took high rank as an orator. He was endowed richly with both humor and pathos, and he used with great effect a remarkable fund of anecdote. As a senator he strenuously opposed the civil service law, and advocated tariff reform. During his vigorous administration as governor "the judges were heard above the roar of cannon," and the writ of habeas corpus was never for a day suspended. Yet while strenuously resisting all the encroachments of military power, no governor was more active in providing for the welfare of his soldiers, and in importing machinery, food and medical supplies. His personal influence made possible the enforcement of the conscript laws, and his fiery and eloquent admonitions to North Carolina's sixty-five regiments in the winter of 1863-64 reinspired the army of Northern Virginia.

Francis W. Pickens, the first war governor of South Carolina, was born in St. Paul's parish, that State, April 7, 1805, the son of Gov. Andrew Pickens, and grandson of Gen. Andrew Pickens, a soldier of the Revolution. He was educated at Athens college and South Carolina college, was admitted to the bar in 1829, and in 1832 was elected to the lower house of the State legislature. Attaining prominence in political affairs, he was elected to Congress on the nullification ticket, and took his seat in December, 1834, serving from that time until March, 1843. The following year he

served in the State senate. Returning to politics in 1850 he became a delegate to the Nashville convention, and in 1856 was a delegate to the Democratic national convention. By President Buchanan he was appointed minister to Russia in 1858. At the close of the administration he came home and was elected governor on the eve of the outbreak of war. After one term of the office, December, 1860, to December, 1862, he returned to private life, and died at Edgefield, January 25, 1869.

Brigadier-General Milledge L. Bonham was born in Edgefield district, May 6, 1815. He was graduated by the South Carolina college in his twentieth year, and then began the study of law, interrupting it, however, in 1836, to take part in the Seminole war, where he served as aide to General Bull and as adjutant-general of the South Carolina brigade. Returning to his law studies he was admitted to the bar in 1837, and practiced at Edgefield until his soldierly instincts were again aroused by the Mexican war. In this conflict he served with gallantry as colonel of the Twelfth regiment, United States infantry, with Winfield S. Hancock as his adjutant. Resuming the practice of law, he held the office of solicitor, was four times elected to the legislature, and in 1856 was elected to Congress as a State rights Democrat. With re-election he served until his State delegation withdrew in December, 1860. In the secession movement he took a prominent part, serving as a commissioner to Alabama and making eloquent speeches in favor of separation. Having previously held the rank of major-general of South Carolina troops, he was called to command by Governor Pickens upon the secession of the State. Under Beauregard he commanded the troops on Morris Island during the bombardment of Fort Sumter. Then being promoted brigadier-general, provisional army, he went to Virginia, and was assigned to command of a brigade of South Carolina troops, and the Alexandria de-

partment. He was engaged at Blackburn's Ford, and would have had a prominent part in the battle of First Manassas if the Federal attack had not changed the plans. As it was, he was commended by Beauregard for the skillful execution of orders. He resigned in January, 1862, to serve the State as representative in the Confederate Congress, and was elected governor for the term of 1862 to 1864. Reappointed brigadier-general in February, 1865, he commanded a brigade of South Carolina cavalry until the close of the struggle. Subsequently he served in the legislature, and held the office of railroad commissioner at the time of his death, August 27, 1890.

Andrew Gordon Magrath, last governor of South Carolina during the Confederate period, was born at Charleston, February 8, 1813, the son of a soldier of the Irish revolution of 1798. He was graduated at South Carolina college in 1831, and then studied the law, completing his studies at Harvard university, under Judge Story. In 1840 and 1842 he was elected to the State legislature, but he subsequently devoted himself to the practice of his profession until 1856, when he was chosen a delegate at large to the national Democratic convention, but before the meeting of that body was called by President Pierce to the Federal bench as district judge of South Carolina. This position he held until the election of President Lincoln, when he promptly tendered his resignation to President Buchanan. In his letter of this effect, dated November 7th, he wrote: "Should that conflict arise, I shall not hesitate in my conduct. I shall devote my best energies to sustain North Carolina in whatever position she may resolve to occupy in this crisis." This action by Judge Magrath was hailed throughout the State as a manly statement of public opinion, and a large and enthusiastic meeting was held at Charleston to ratify and approve his declaration. He was at once elected a dele-

gate to the convention which made the ordinance of secession, and while still a member of that body was appointed to the staff of Governor Pickens. Under the Confederate government he returned to the bench, and was called upon to decide many grave and important questions growing out of the war. In November, 1864, he was elected governor, and in the following December was inaugurated, with a great popular demonstration, in range of the enemy's shells. In April, 1865, he was arrested by order of the Federal government, and with distinguished companions sustained an imprisonment. Subsequently he resumed his professional practice at Charleston, where, after over half a century of distinction as a jurist, he died April 9, 1893.

Isham G. Harris, war governor of Tennessee, was born near Tullahoma, Tennessee, February 10, 1818. At nineteen years of age he settled in Tippah county, Mississippi, where he engaged in mercantile business. He studied law during the night hours for two years and meanwhile was successful in trade, when, through a bank failure, he was left penniless. He resumed business at Paris, Tenn., and soon recouped his losses, manifesting, throughout this most arduous part of his career, a remarkable business ability, and indomitable courage. In 1841 he was admitted to the bar, and subsequently was elected to the legislature of Tennessee. In 1848 he was elected to Congress, where he served two terms with distinction. Subsequently he made his home at Memphis, and widened his practice as an attorney. He was chosen presidential elector in 1856, and was elected governor of Tennessee in 1857, and re-elected in 1859 and 1861. Although his State was overrun, its capital taken, and its government compelled to retreat with the Confederate armies, he took care of the State's interests in every particular. He offered his services to Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston, and was actively employed as

aide-de-camp on the General's staff. After Johnston's death Governor Harris continued to serve at the general headquarters of the army in the west throughout the war, and took part in all important battles except Perryville. At the close of the struggle he went to Mexico, in August, 1861, and eighteen months later, to England, where he remained a year. In 1867 he returned and resumed his law practice at Memphis. He was elected to the United States Senate, taking his seat March 5, 1877, and promptly became a leading member of that distinguished body. Notwithstanding his arduous part in great and exciting events, he retained his remarkable force to the end of his lengthened life. His sixth term in the Senate would have expired in 1901, but death came in 1897 to close his career.

Robert Looney Carruthers, elected as the successor of Governor Harris of Tennessee, was born in Smith county, that State, July 31, 1800. He began the practice of law at Carthage, and subsequently removed to Lebanon, and in 1827 was commissioned state's attorney by Governor Sam Houston. Elected to the legislature five years later, he served on the judiciary committee. In 1841 he succeeded John Bell in Congress, but declined re-election. In 1844 he was elector at large on the Whig ticket, and in 1852 was appointed to the Supreme court to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Nathan Green. He was re-elected by the legislature and by the people, and remained upon the supreme bench until his functions were suspended by the war. In 1861 he was a member of the Peace congress, and was a delegate to the provisional Congress of the Confederate States at Richmond. In 1863 he was elected governor of Tennessee, but the fortunes of war did not permit his inauguration. In addition to these civil positions he held in 1864 the rank of brigadier-general of Tennessee militia. After the war he devoted himself to the Cumberland university

at Lexington, of which he was the first president of the board of trustees. With the remarkable educational history of Lebanon, and the fame of its law school, his name is inseparably connected. His reputation as a jurist was very high, and it has been said by competent authority that he was "without doubt the greatest advocate that Tennessee ever had." After a long life of usefulness, he died in October, 1882.

Francis Richard Lubbock, governor of Texas, 1861 to 1863, was born at Beaufort, S. C. October 16, 1815. As a young man he engaged in mercantile pursuits, in which he has been distinguished throughout life. In 1834 he removed to New Orleans and thence in 1836 to Texas, where he became one of the early settlers of the city of Houston. Soon taking a position of prominence he was chosen clerk of the Texas house of representatives in 1838 and was appointed comptroller of the treasury and adjutant of the military organization. He was again comptroller in 1841, and served as clerk of Harris county in 1843 to 1856. In 1857 he was elected lieutenant-governor of the State, and in 1860 he was a delegate to the Charleston convention. He was elected governor of Texas in 1861, and in this position was earnest and active in support of the Confederate States government. In 1863 Governor Lubbock declined the proffered renomination, and entered the military service, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. He was commissioned colonel and aide-de-camp on the staff of President Davis in 1864, and after the evacuation of Richmond, accompanied the President and was with him at the time of his capture. Colonel Lubbock was carried as a prisoner to Fortress Monroe and afterward to Fort Delaware, where he was kept in solitary confinement for seven months. In December, 1865, he returned to Texas, and with characteristic energy, at once began the organization of the commercial house of F. R. Lubbock & Son. In 1867

he removed to Galveston and there served three terms as city treasurer. Subsequently he was for four terms, beginning in 1878, elected State treasurer. Of late years, having reached an advanced age, he has withdrawn himself from public affairs.

Pendleton Murrah, governor of Texas, 1863 to 1865, was a native of South Carolina, and a lawyer by profession. In early life he went to Alabama, and thence removed to the State of Texas, making his home in Harrison county. His evident ability and capacity for public affairs were manifested in 1857 as a representative of his county in the legislature, and he continued to rise in prominence until in 1863 he was honored with the highest office in the gift of the people of the State, as the successor of Francis R. Lubbock. In the midst of many perplexities, and confronted by many serious problems, he performed with honor the duties of chief executive until the State was occupied by the armed forces of the United States. He then left the capitol and crossed into Mexico, making his home at Monterey, where he died in July, 1866.

John Letcher, governor of Virginia at the outbreak and through the major part of the civil war, was born at Lexington, Va., March 29, 1813. By his own labor, begun at the age of fifteen years, he won an education, attending Washington college and Randolph-Macon college. He was licensed to practice law in 1839, and in the midst of his profession gave attention also to politics, and particularly to political journalism. In the campaign of 1840 he took an active part. Having established the Lexington Valley Star in 1839, he resumed control of it in 1844, and zealously advocated the interests of the South. In 1848 he was a Democratic presidential elector; in 1850 was a member of the constitutional convention; and in 1851 was elected to Congress, where he remained four

terms. His peculiar devotion to the public interests earned for him the popular title "Honest John Letcher." In 1859 he was elected governor, taking his seat January 1, 1860. He loved the Union sincerely and with a strong hand held back the more impetuous, until no course but separation remained, when his hand was as strong for armed defense. He was a faithful friend of Lee and Jackson. His home was burned at the time of the destruction of the Virginia military institute, and after the war he was confined for some months in the Old Capitol prison. In 1876, while a member of the legislature, he was stricken with paralysis. He died January 26, 1884, at Lexington.

William Smith, governor of Virginia from January 1, 1864, to the close of the war, was born September 6, 1797, in King George county, Virginia. After receiving a general education in academic institutions he took up the study of law and was licensed to practice in 1819. His political career began about this time also, but it was not until 1836 that he accepted office. He then sat in the State senate one term, and was re-elected. He became interested in mail contracts and had charge of some extensive routes, by coach and steamboat lines. In 1841 Mr. Smith was elected to Congress, and in December, 1845, he was chosen governor of Virginia. After the expiration of his term, in 1850, he removed to California, where he at once gained prominence. He represented San Francisco in the constitutional convention at Bernicia in 1850, and was chosen permanent president of that body. Returning to Virginia in December, 1852, he was elected to Congress in May, 1853, and retained his seat until March 4, 1861. When the war broke out Governor Smith, though in his sixty-fourth year, offered his services in the field, and was commissioned colonel and assigned to the Forty-ninth regiment, Virginia infantry, which he led with gallantry at Manassas, July 21, 1861.

His personal courage and coolness elicited the official notice of Beauregard, Johnston and Stuart. Promoted to brigadier-general, he continued to render valuable services in the field; also, in 1862, sitting in the Confederate States Congress as representative of his district. He was twice wounded at Seven Pines and three times at Sharpsburg. In command of a brigade of Early's division, he took part in the Pennsylvania campaign, and the battle of Gettysburg. In August following, he was promoted major-general, and later was called by the people a second time to the office of governor. His devotion and fertility of resources as State executive were of great value during the exhaustive military struggle which followed his inauguration. He retired in 1865 to his home, and there died May 18, 1889.

Colonel John R. Baylor, governor of the Territory of Arizona, in 1860 holding the rank of captain of Texas troops, and well-known throughout the State, was active in December in the organization of forces. He was commissioned lieutenant-colonel by the Confederate government; and in May, after commanding part of the force which compelled the surrender of the United States troops at San Antonio, was put in command of the second line of defense on the western frontier. Subsequently, with a small body of Texas troops, less than three hundred in number, he moved up the Rio Grande into the Territory of New Mexico, in June, and occupied Mesilla, where on the 25th of July he was attacked by the Federal forces from Fort Fillmore. Repulsing the attack, he next moved against the enemy, who abandoned the fort and surrendered nearly seven hundred men on the 27th. Soon afterward he was joined by Gen. Albert Sidney Johnston and other officers on their way from California to unite with the Confederate forces. On the first of August he issued a proclamation taking command of the Territory of Arizona, which he defined as all that part of New

Mexico lying south of the thirty-fourth parallel, in the name of the Confederate States, and formed a temporary organization under a military government, with a full list of appointments of judicial and executive officers. He continued to discharge the duties of governor as well as those of military commander and was active in protecting the people from Indian forays. By the proclamation of President Davis, dated February 14, 1862, Colonel Baylor was appointed governor of the Territory, with Robert Josselyn, of Mississippi, as secretary; Alexander M. Jackson, of New Mexico, chief justice; Columbus Upson, Texas, associate justice; Russell Howard, Arizona, attorney-general; Samuel J. Jones, Arizona, marshal; delegate to Confederate Congress, M. H. McWillie. He organized a brigade of troops in the Territory and participated in the later operations in Texas.